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SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT

AND OF ITS

SYSTEMATIC PERSECUTIONS OF PROTESTANTS.

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Compiled from Official Documents.

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BY ALFRED MICHIELS

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1859.

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PREFACE.

If there are studies of the past which are purely retrospective and are only interesting to the learned, there are others which possess all the importance and reality of contemporary history: they explain the present by its origin, and afford the reader the only point of view whence he can judge soberly of facts being done in his sight, or on the point of accomplishment. The situation of Austria, the part she plays in European politics, and the future she is preparing for herself, above all, require this illumination. Her history is the least known of all, for the Jesuits, as masters of the country, subtilely and boldly falsified it. Hormayr, director of the Viennese archives during twenty-five years, calls the works hitherto published on this matter "books written to order," and "ready-made fables." Falsehood rules on the banks of the Danube; princes who governed by cunning and brute force were desirous of deceiving future generations. They

printed fraudulent documents, intended for the purposes of deception; no historian was allowed to obtain a sight of the real documents, and the archives were sealed up like a tomb. "The impostures put forth for the last three centuries," says the same writer, "have become unchangeable, like fossil bones. The multitude knows nothing else, and is astounded, even indignant, if any attempt is made to rectify errors that have now grown old: it seems as if truth were being altered and events denaturalised through a mania for innovation and a blind and hostile obstinacy." And, further on, he compares the official annals of Austria to a manufacture of base coin.

If any one had attempted to throw light on this voluntary darkness and dissipate these systematic errors, the implacable censorship, which oppressed thought in Austria, would have neutralised the scheme from the outset.

Besides, no one paid any attention, or if so, very slight, to this mysterious kingdom; the passion for history which distinguishes our century was not yet working on the minds. Schiller's work devoted to the Thirty Years' War, in 1791, was the first to attract attention to Austria, and the drama of Wallenstein soon increased the curiosity which this narrative had aroused. "The History of the House of Austria," by William Cox (1807), satisfied it to a certain extent, but the French could only read in their own language fragmentary and insufficient works, like the "Histoire des Révolutions de Hongrie" and the "Mémoires du Comte Niklos." Not only had the authors of these works been deprived of the use of those articles of conviction which the Austrian

government hid from public ken, but they do not seem to me to have made the best use of the matter already printed. They did not read, for instance, a very important work by Cardinal Caraffa, Apostolic nuncio in Germany during the reign of Ferdinand II., or else did not derive sufficient benefit from it. This enormous volume, entitled "Germania sacra res Restaurata,"* contains a multitude of precious revelations on the Austrian policy. To five hundred and ninety-three pages of text are added two hundred and fifty pages of letters, decrees, reports, and other official documents. We find there a perfect narrative of atrocious facts and violent and terrible measures practised, which ought to have thrown light on the real character of the struggle and the object the emperor pursued. I open it at hazard, and this passage catches my eye (it relates to an order concerning the schismatics in the hereditary estates):

"The monarch also declared, that in lieu of a judge or provost, there must be established in Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia a military chief, to act summarily against the preachers who might be seized, in consideration that they had been repeatedly warned: they ought to be hung to the nearest tree without any delay, as seditious men, spies, and criminals, and their obstinate perversity thus immediately chastised by the cord. Vigorous decrees of this nature gradually produced the result that in the three provinces not a single man tainted with heresy could be found, unless he had come clandestinely from Hungary, and this is the reason why the inhabitants were interdicted from any relations with the Hungarians." (P. 332.)

* Frankfort, 1641.

While congratulating himself on the rigour employed against the schismatics, the nuncio conceals nothing, and describes the most odious scenes with imperturbable simplicity.

But the information derived from the Vienna archives possesses far greater importance: Leopold Ranke had a certain number of documents imparted to him, which he employed in his "History of Germany during the Reformation." No man, however, has rendered so many services in this respect as Baron Hormayr. Appointed, in 1803, director of the state and domestic archives of the Habsburgs, he occupied this post for twenty-five years, when he had every conceivable opportunity to study the real history of his country. He was a man of insatiable curiosity and unremitting activity; a prodigious memory seconded his efforts, and cut on granite, if we may be pardoned the expression, the facts and dates he picked up. Nature had so favoured him in this respect, that his father, having formed a collection of nine thousand portraits, Joseph Hormayr could mention one after the other, without the slightest error, the names of all the persons. He knew by heart a hundred dramas, and ten or twelve thousand verses in different languages; he could repeat the three first books of the Æneid in the natural order of the composition, and then recite them again backwards.

In 1828, King Louis of Bavaria proposed to him to quit Austria, and come and reside in his capital. The laborious archæologist, whom the court had dissatisfied, crossed the frontier, but not without booty, for he carried off, as *spolia opima*, a multitude of notes and precious documents copied from the originals. A portion of these

documents was printed in the Historic Annual (Taschenbuch für Vaterländische Geschichte), which he brought out for forty-four years. Others saw light in his "Anemonen," four volumes published at Jena from 1845 to 1847; in the "Life-Pictures of the War of Liberation," in three octavo volumes; and in the fragment entitled "Francis and Metternich," which appeared after the author's death. His "History of Vienna," his "Austrian Plutarch" (in twenty volumes), his "Historic Archives (1810-1823)," his "History of the Tyrol," and his "General History of Modern Times," complete the long list of his works. His immense researches, the sagacity of his mind, and his astonishing knowledge of men and things, render it impossible to write a history of Austria, or even of Germany, without consulting him. Unfortunately, he has employed a style so capricious, wild, and tortuous, that it requires whole hours to understand and analyse a few pages of his books. It is a torrent of science which pours forth from the depths of the past: any one who has not read him cannot imagine such an intemperance of memory, such an absolute want of method, and tumult of ideas. Each wave, however, brings with it its spangle of gold, which must be picked up by struggling against the impetuosity and disorder of the waters.

During the years 1823 and 1824 it was thought advisable to clear the Vienna archives, and a mass of papers, considered insignificant or useless, was sold by the pound. But they contained several valuable documents; archæologists discovered this, bought them from the original purchasers, and thus authentic documents have spread a

most mournful light over the history of the Austrian government.

Doctor Vehse, Archivist of the kingdom of Saxony, in his enormous work on all the Austrian courts, and even the mediated princes, has collected a multitude of scattered documents, with a judicious, liberal, and enlightened spirit, which imparts great importance to his publication. He says himself that he despises style, the art of composition and writing; but he has, here and there, excellent inspirations. The curiosity he excites also helps us to forget his negligences of style.

Lastly, some panegyrists of the imperial house, like Hurter, have made us precious and sinister revelations. Fearful that documents of evil character might be given to publicity, without commentary or with hostile glosses, these clumsy friends have themselves printed them, adding reflections which they believe peremptory, but which possess no value. I have employed the pieces of conviction, and left the mercenary advocates their subterfuges and sophisms.

Such are the various sources from which I have drawn. They have supplied me with a really secret history of the Austrian government, its disloyal ambition, its pernicious schemes and hypocritical violence. My book does not contain a sentence, or even part of a sentence, which is not supported by a proof. The Viennese cabinet knows this well, for, as its scribes could not refute me, it chose the clumsy expedient of interdicting my work through the entire monarchy, proving by this stupid manœuvre the exactness of my information and the fidelity of my narrative.

In his last volume of the history of France ("Richelieu et la Fronde"), M. Michelet attributes to Hormayr the explanation of the system invented by the Jesuits to convert and subjugate Austria; and he mentions my articles in the *Siècle*, published in 1856, as extracts from an annual brought out twenty years previously. Now, this annual only contains an irregular notice of the martyrdom of the forty-seven Bohemian nobles at Prague. I it was who, by a synthetical and analytical work, reproduced the policy of the monks of St. Ignatius. As, however, M. Michelet is now convinced, and proposes to do me justice in his coming volume, I will not dwell any further on this question.

The book I offer to the public displays the origin of the Austrian system, the manner in which it was constituted, and in which it has acted since Ferdinand II. Many of my readers will be astonished to find how it plunges its roots into the past, as well as to learn that it has gone on to the present day *without the slightest modification*. The infamous régime against which Italy contends, was not invented for her, nor is it at all peculiar to her. All the Austrian provinces have been successively or simultaneously treated with the same blood-thirsty hypocrisy, or implacable stupidity. The archives of history offer nothing to resemble it; the madness of the Roman emperors pales before that of the Habsburgs.

More than once the author shuddered in writing these mournful pages; assuredly it would be more pleasant to describe noble actions and paint magnanimous characters. Tacitus, I believe, expressed a similar regret; but in examining the annals of humanity golden threads are

rarely found. Oh, severe and terrible Muse of History, thou who carriest the thoughts through ruins and tombs, who speakest less of virtues than crimes, of wisdom than of furious passions, of happiness than of calamities, of clairvoyance than of illusions and madness, long have I wandered round thy tribunal without feeling any desire to approach it! I recounted the vicissitudes experienced by the fine arts and literature, while examining at a distance, as from the summit of a tranquil rock, the tumultuous course of events and the storms that spread desolation over the plains. But the time for pleasant dreams, for calm studies and contemplation, has passed away. A gloomy age, an age of crises and pain, has commenced for the peoples; all the winds bring to us the soughing of an approaching tempest. I descend in my turn into the sinister regions, and, like the Florentine poet, commune with the Inferno. Austria is, even more than Russia, the head-quarters of despotism, a funereal gaol, where entire nations are put to the torture, where brute force violates all laws in the name of justice, profanes all religious maxims in the name of piety, and abjures all human sentiments in the name of clemency. There reigns a dissimulation as unlimited as it is pitiless. I have reproduced facts in a simple and severe style. I have abstained from declamation, and almost from reflections, because the new documents I have employed possess a terrible eloquence which annuls all the resources of human art, and drowns, like incessant thunder, the voice of the narrator.

Paris, May 15, 1859.

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SECRET HISTORY

OF

THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE EMPEROR FERDINAND INAUGURATES THE POLICY OF AUSTRIA.

One of the principal motives Austrian politicians put forth in order to justify the prodigious concessions made to the clergy of their country and to the court of Rome, is the long and unshaken fidelity of the Habsburgs to the Catholic religion. Their history, we are told, pledges them to this conduct. Did not their piety lay them prostrate before the Holy See, the traditions of their family and their respect for their ancestors would impress on them this humble attitude as a duty. The young emperor follows the traces of Rudolph of Habsburg, of Charles V., and, above all, of Ferdinand II. The decrees by which the last-named prince inaugurated his obstinate contest with the Reformation bear the greatest possible

similitude to certain articles of the Concordat. Only one Austrian monarch was unwilling to endure the domination of Rome: hence the memory, even the name, of Joseph II. must be consecrated to oblivion.

Shall we never see royal families abandon the absurd principle which generally causes their fall? They seek their inspiration in the tombs of their ancestors, when they ought to look around them, consult the wants, opinions, and hopes of the peoples, judge the present, and try to pierce the semi-obscurity from which the future looms out. Ever the old system of cadaverous immobility! ever the sepulchral song beneath a sky full of light, in the presence of exuberant life, in the centre of unbounded aspirations! What weariness of spirit!

But as the past history of the imperial dynasty is invoked, in order to spread over Austria the winding-sheet of the middle ages, the gravestone of reaction, and to whisper to it, Sleep an eternal sleep—let us survey this past in the depths of history; let us see by what means the Habsburgs sustained and restored Catholicism in their hereditary estates, and those by which they attempted to re-establish it throughout Germany. The Reign of Terror, about which so much has been said, the popular reprisals and vengeance, which have been so objurgated, were merely an idyl, a pastoral, when compared with the oppressions of Ferdinand II. There would be also a great deal to say about Charles V., that man of unbounded ambition, that heartless bigot and insatiable glutton, who in the Netherlands alone condemned thirty thousand Reformers to punishment, and buried Protestant women alive. He was, indeed, the worthy father of Philip II. But we will

commence with the real founder of the Austrian policy. Several writers—as Hormayr, Ranke, Vehse, Hurter, Silbert, Westenrieder—have been recently searching the archives of the House of Austria, either to find motives for praise, or to throw an impartial light upon its history. They have found a multitude of precious details unknown to Schiller, and have all brought forward fearful facts.

As early as 1520, the Reform doctrines had penetrated into the Austrian provinces, and Charles V. employed fire and sword against the new teaching. In 1524 he decapitated, for the crime of heresy, the citizen Gaspard Tauber; in 1528 he burned Balthasar Hubmayer, professor at Ingolstadt, after keeping him in prison for a lengthened period. The executions were afterwards multiplied, but they had the usual result of producing no effect.

In 1541 a Lutheran deputation proceeded to Prague, in order to solicit from the Archduke Ferdinand I. the free exercise of the Evangelical worship, and a perfect equality between the two religions. Among the delegates several citizens of Vienna were noticeable. The nobility had already fallen into the habit of sending their sons to study at Protestant universities.

When the treaty of Passau had given the Reformation a legal existence, and the peace of Augsburg had confirmed that act of justice, the new doctrines gained ground with increased rapidity. On mounting the imperial throne, Ferdinand I., who had always displayed a noble impartiality, made no change in his feelings or his conduct. He considered it criminal and impolitic to employ violence against the Dissidents, or to martyrise and destroy the body through a feigned sympathy for the soul. So just

were his views that he tried to persuade the sovereign pontiff, the obstinate Paul IV., into authorising the communion in the two elements and the marriage of the clergy. He also handed in a formal protest against certain conditions of the Council of Trent, which he regarded as being too rigorous. As examples are always being sought for, Francis Joseph might have followed these glorious antecedents, and thus progressed towards the light, in lieu of burying himself in darkness.

The report of a Venetian ambassador, published by Ranke, teaches us that nine-tenths of the German population had adopted the new principles at the time when Ferdinand I. ascended the throne in 1556, and that in the Austrian hereditary states the majority also belonged to the Dissenting communion. Micheli, another Venetian envoy, wrote twelve years later: "A system of mutual toleration has become customary. Wherever the two faiths are mingled, no one cares to inquire whether a person is Catholic or Protestant. The same indulgence prevails in families: in many houses the parents profess one doctrine, the children the other. Brothers hold different religious opinions. Catholics and Huguenots intermarry. No one complains against it, or regards it as a scandal."

Montaigne, who visited Germany during 1589, says, when speaking of Augsburg, "Marriages between Catholics and Lutherans frequently take place, and the party most desirous undergoes the will of the other. There are a thousand such marriages: our host was Catholic, his wife Lutheran."

Maximilian II., son and successor of Ferdinand I., dis-

played even greater toleration. He granted religious liberty to Bohemia and Austria; while the nobles, who were the leaders of the movement, even obtained the right of bringing their preachers to Vienna, and having their religious tenets publicly expounded. Maximilian having projected a crusade against the Turks, wished to form a league with the Persians and the Russians to reconquer Hungary, and expel the infidels from Europe. Hoping to gain the assistance of the Reformed princes, he indulged the Lutherans in his own states and throughout Germany. In Bavaria, as in Austria, nearly all the nobility had adopted the system of free examination.

The same Maximilian II. having learnt that his son Rudolph, who was afterwards emperor, had formed a design with some Italians and Spaniards to attack a Lutheran church built by the Lord of Roggendorf, marshal of the province, gave him a buffet, although already king of the Romans. The marshal, having been informed of the plot, himself revealed it to the emperor, adding, "You can imagine, sire, what misfortunes might have resulted from so mad an attack; the Spaniards and Italians would, probably, have been strangled like pullets, for nearly the entire population of Vienna is Lutheran, especially in the working classes."*

Under the Emperor Rudolph, a strange and half insane prince, who spent whole months in the Hradschin Palace at Prague without receiving a visitor, the anti-Catholic doctrines spread with greater facility than ever. The lords employed all their influence and authority to convert the population of the towns and villages. In 1578,

* Gerlach: Türkisches Jahrbuch, p. 326.

the same year in which Ferdinand II. came into the world, his father, the Archduke Charles, imitated the example of Maximilian II., by proclaiming liberty of conscience throughout Styria, Carinthia, and Carinola. The new opinions were so well established that their partisans made head against the monarch. The Reformation gradually became mistress of the country, and the moment when Germany would at length enjoy religious unity seemed at hand. When Ferdinand II. celebrated the Easter festival at Grätz in 1596, he was, we may say, the only person who communicated according to the Catholic ritual; for the city contained only three other individuals belonging to that confession. In the duchy of Austria there were only five noble families that remained faithful to the old creed; seven in Carinthia, and but one in Styria, the Herberstorfs, which expired in 1629. All the rights of collation to benefices, all the important offices, were in the hands of the innovators.

This immense success on the part of the Reformation assuredly proved that it went to the heart of the people, and was in harmony with their opinions and tendencies. Hence it ought consistently to have been respected as the expression of the national thought; but the Jesuits had found in Ferdinand II. a docile instrument—one of those blind fanatics whose conscience nothing troubles, whose pity nothing moves. They formed the audacious project of bringing back Southern Germany to Catholicism, and assailing Northern Germany, with the design of subjugating it in its turn.

Left an orphan at the age of twelve, the young archduke was placed by his mother under the guardianship of

William V., Duke of Bavaria, whose sister she was. The Jesuits always called him the "pious duke," and, in fact, his devotion was so great that he abdicated, like Charles V., and ended his days in a monastery. He handed over to the Jesuits his son Maximilian, and the future emperor of Germany; and for five years the disciples of Loyola worked upon these minds which had been abandoned to them, in their college of Ingolstadt, tempering and sharpening, with unparalleled care, these two swords of the Catholic reaction. Towards the close of 1597 the archduke undertook a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, and demanded the blessing of Clement VIII., the same Pope who for two years refused to absolve the convert Henri IV., and openly blamed the Edict of Nantes. At the feet of this ambitious pontiff the young prince took an oath to re-establish, at the risk of his life, the Catholic faith in his hereditary states, and, to the best of his ability, throughout Germany. The Jesuits were to second him in carrying out this terrible vow. Ferdinand had adopted as his maxim, "Sooner a desert than a country peopled by heretics."

A short time after his return, in September, 1598, he set to work. He commenced by publishing a decree, certain regulations of which are recalled to memory by the compact signed August 18, 1855. This decree enjoined on fathers of families to hear mass in their own parish church with all their household, to confess there, to communicate according to the Catholic ritual, and to fulfil all other Catholic ceremonies. They were strictly ordered to fast and abstain at the periods decreed by the Roman doctrine. They were forbidden, as a grave crime,

to listen to heretic ministers, to work, buy, or sell on Sundays or feast days, to read Protestant books, or recite or sing satires on the Papacy. Under a penalty of fifty ducats, all printed matter containing productions of this nature must be handed over without delay to the authorities, who would have them burnt in the public square. A general proscription fell on the Lutheran ministers: if they did not leave the country, or if they had the audacity to return to it, they were threatened with perpetual imprisonment.

The decree also ordered the immediate closing of all heterodox schools: any one desirous of giving his children a private tutor must first present him to the curate of the town, by whom he would be examined. Any public office could only be held after the performance of a similar formality. Ferdinand, at the same time, re-established the old brotherhoods and communities, the use of processions, and other public ceremonies. No Dissenter could claim the right of citizenship, sit in the municipal council, or hold an office dependent on the commune. The governors and bailiffs would watch over the governing bodies, be present at their deliberations, and forbid them carrying any measure against the Catholic faith.

The publication of such a decree was to brave the nation, but Ferdinand wished to become the Philip II. of Austria. His edict was published everywhere. At some places it was even affixed to a gallows expressly put up to warn all opponents of the fate which the clemency of the archduke reserved for them.

But an idle promulgation was not considered sufficient, and energetic measures were immediately taken to press

on the execution of the decree. Squadrons of priests and imperial commissioners were formed; they were given an escort of three hundred soldiers, Landsknechts or Trabants,* and were then let loose on the country. These sinister bands arrived unexpectedly at the towns or villages, and their ecclesiastic chief demanded from the authorities a nominal list of the population. A species of tribunal was then formed either in the church or on the market-place, according to the temperature or the size of the building, and the soldiers were drawn up around it in a semicircle. The terrified peasants were haled or driven into the centre, and the imperial converter then held a discourse on the principles of the Catholic faith, which was assumed to have carried conviction to the hearts of all. Each hearer, called by his name, was ordered to abjure the heterodox doctrines on the spot. A fine, a sentence of exile, or blows, punished any refusal, according to the rank of the person, and the least hesitation frequently cost two thousand ducats. Other individuals obtained a respite—a month, six weeks, or a longer term was granted them; at the end of this period they were interrogated, and, if they still adhered to their belief, they were banished for life, and the tenth part of their property confiscated. We need not say that the soldiers were quartered on the refractory, and did not treat them with extreme indulgence.

These primary measures were followed by others still more rigorous: the Protestant churches were demolished by gunpowder, the walls of the Lutheran cemeteries pulled

* Landsknechts were mercenary troops; Trabants, members of the Imperial Guard.

down, and the tombstones scattered about. Wherever the growth of toleration had allowed Lutherans to be laid by the side of Catholics, the bodies of the heretics which polluted the holy soil were exhumed. In the towns thousands of volumes, entire libraries, were burned on the public square. At Grätz, the Evangelical minister Simon Heusinger and his wife Eva having dared openly to maintain the superiority of their doctrine, were arrested, cast into a dungeon, and strangled during the night. Wheels and gallows marked the spot that had been profaned by a heterodox church.* Schiller, therefore, committed a grave mistake in praising the gentleness of the archduke, and affirming that this first reactionary movement was free from any violence.

The timid Germans allowed themselves to be indoctrinated by threats, the bâton, and the sword. A few meetings took place, but the orthodox troops, to their regret doubtless, dispersed them without striking a blow.

Lest he might provoke too much resistance at once, the pious despot did not act simultaneously against all his provinces. He began in Styria, whence the priests and the Landsknechts passed into Carinthia, Carniola, and the duchy of Goritz. When the commissioners returned from their expeditions, and he was satisfied with their services, he would give them some hundred or some thousand florins. Among these warlike missionaries, the Bishop Martin of Seccau most distinguished himself, and soon obtained sole management of the undertaking. He possessed

* I borrow all these details from a panegyrist of Ferdinand II. Consult Hurter: Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II. und Seiner Eltern, vol. iv. chap. xxxix. This chapter runs to eighty pages.

the faculty of preaching a sermon that lasted four hours, after which those hearers who had not been properly convinced or moved were corrected.

The work of reaction lasted for five years. Nearly all the great families quitted a country ravaged by fanaticism, and sought a refuge in Bohemia and Hungary, where they prepared formidable insurrections. Among the fugitives was the celebrated astronomer and mathematician, Kepler.

Ferdinand possessed an inflexible will, which the Jesuits studied to harden in order to render it a machine for murder. Though debauchery had weakened the intellects of the Habsburgs, their health did not yet betray the effects of their violent libertinism. The archduke was short, robust, stout, and sanguine: he had no great fancy for the other sex, and gave way to no excesses in eating or drinking. His teachers had inspired him with such veneration for the clergy, that he endowed them with some supernatural and divine attributes. "Were I to meet a priest and an angel at the same moment," he himself said, "I would salute the priest first." If a curate, bearing the Viaticum, passed near him, Ferdinand would follow him on foot through the mud to the house of the sick man, and accompany him back with marks of the most profound piety. He accompanied the processions on Corpus Christi Day with a bare head, and holding a taper in his hand. He always attended two masses on week days, and a supplementary one on Sunday. No motive would have induced him to break his fast or touch prohibited food on the days set apart for abstinence.

The Jesuits exercised an unlimited authority over him:

they never let him out of sight, and never did they allow him the free exercise of his mind and will. Two brothers of the order were invariably stationed in his ante-chamber: they had the right to enter his room at any hour, even during the night, and impart their counsels to him. He often went to share their repasts and listen to the pious lectures in the refectory. His directors and confessors were two Jesuits, Fathers William Lamormain and John Weingartner: these pious diplomatists led him by the hand, and impregnated him with their wrath or their affections. Immovable as a system, as the mysterious powers that are called sacerdotal castes, secret tribunals or monastic orders—deriving their inspiration from the terrible God of Moses and not of the Gospel, pitiless and irresponsible—they were already meditating the Thirty Years' War, and had only to shake the folds of their gowns in order to let loose on Germany those sanguinary furies which produced the most cruel of all religious conflicts.

After five years of military forays and sermons listened to perforce, the subjects of the archduke fell into that state of moral prostration invariably produced by a victorious reaction. The peoples had conceived hopes, had formed plans for the future, and reached the frontier of an ideal region which alone harmonised with their wishes. While eagerly surveying the promised land from the summit of their Mount Horeb, they were suddenly driven into gloomy valleys, thrust into sinister gorges, or exposed on torrid rocks! An unbounded sorrow preyed upon them: what should they do for the future, or what object would their existence possess? Why should they struggle against this intellectual death—against the moral annihi-

lation which pressed upon them? Indeed, what means had they for the struggle? Like cataleptics, they felt, saw, heard, and suffered, but remained motionless in their grief, and dumb in their despair.

After having thus enervated and paralysed the population of his hereditary states, Ferdinand was enabled to indulge at his leisure in political schemes and ambitious projects. The archduchy of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, the imperial crown, all excited and kept up his covetousness. But Rudolph II. was master of these territories, and possessed the supreme authority, while his brother Matthias was the heir presumptive. Amid the gloomy visions that disturbed his mind, Rudolph seemed to see at times, as if through a passing cloud, the beams of a higher light; the grand and sovereign doctrine of toleration, which will one day be the governing principle of civilisation in all matters, illuminated at intervals his capricious mind. He did not annoy the innovators to any great extent, and allowed their opinions to gain ground. The Hungarians obtained from him, in 1606, liberty of worship; the inhabitants of Bohemia tore it from him by their menaces on the 20th of August, 1609. Matthias, who had by his intrigues compelled the cession of the Austrian duchy to himself, could only obtain from the estates their oath of obedience, after granting them the same advantage, and guaranteeing perfect equality to all the communions. Hence the progress of affairs thwarted Ferdinand's designs, except in those domains where he exercised immediate power. But he allowed events to move onwards, he mailed himself in obstinacy, watched for a favourable opportunity, and implored from

God the grace of being one day able to bring back all Germany to the Catholic altars—at the point of the sword.

When Rudolph died, Matthias succeeded him, and the bigot prince was skilful enough to get himself nominated King of Bohemia, by anticipation. The coronation took place in 1617, with unusual pomp; the estates only asked the confirmation of their privileges, and the assurance that Ferdinand would not assume the government of the country before the decease of the emperor. The archduke took the solemn oath; but the Jesuits, who had followed him to Prague, were quite resolved to prevent him keeping it. They worked underhand on the Catholic party and the people. On the road their adept followed they erected an emblematic triumphal arch, on which the lion of Bohemia was displayed, chained to the Austrian escutcheon. They spread a multitude of disquieting reports; among others, asserting that the edict of toleration promulgated by Rudolph had no value, as the prince had been terrified into granting it. "A new king, a new law," they said. Pamphlets, which their accomplices distributed, announced the re-establishment of the Catholic faith in Germany; and Scoppius, a Lutheran renegade of most bitter temper and rare impudence, guided their pen. What the Jesuits desired was an insurrection, a sanguinary contest, which would permit them to abolish all political and religious prerogatives, and commence a pitiless persecution. Their wish was fulfilled.

The provocations and manœuvres of the Jesuits, together with the tenacity Ferdinand II. had displayed in forcing his own Lutheran subjects to bow before Catholic

altars, excited a growing and deep dissatisfaction through Bohemia. The menaces of his black-robed councillors left them no doubt as to his intentions: hence the first spark must enkindle a fire. Such was the case: the Reformers living on the domains of the abbeys of Braunau and Grab wished to erect new churches, but the edict of toleration only granted religious liberty to the citizens of imperial towns and the vassals of secular princes; the liegemen of the ecclesiastical lords could lay no claim to it. The second monastery, moreover, was directly subject to the Archbishop of Prague, and the mitred suzerain destroyed the heretic churches.

Immediately the Lutherans agitated, held meetings, and chose representatives to form a committee of deliberation and defence. They sent several of the members to the court of Matthias, to submit their observations to him; but the emperor would not listen to the deputation, and ordered their assembly to be dispersed. In the belief that the governors had taken this measure on their own authority, the Utraquist nobles resolved to take vengeance on them. On the 23rd of May, 1618, the deputies, nearly all armed, and accompanied by a strong escort, forced their way into the Hradschin Palace, and invaded the Imperial Chancery. At their head was Count Matthias of Thurn, one of the proscribed refugees, who had sought shelter in Bohemia from the persecutions of Ferdinand II. The most hated members of the council, Martinitz and Slawata, were thrown out of window, after a stormy explanation, and were fortunate enough not to break their necks, while the registrar, who was thrown out after them, had an equally fortunate escape, by fall-

ing on a pile of dung, although the drop was sixty feet. The Lutheran chiefs having thus given some satisfaction to their resentment, the Count of Thurn hurried through the city, exhorting the people to remain tranquil. Native troops occupied the castle, the officials took an oath of fidelity to the estates, an executive committee of thirty members was elected, and Count Thurn nominated general of the forces which were about to be collected. The first decree published by the national government ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits, those pious intriguers, who were justly suspected of having caused all the evil. The Thirty Years' War had commenced.

The first episodes of the war are well known: the Bohemians at the outset defeated the troops sent against them, and, in their turn, invaded Austria and the states of Ferdinand. Count Thurn twice succeeded in reaching the walls of Vienna, but the first time he only showed himself, and the second he did not carry on the siege with sufficient resolution, and a defeat of the auxiliary army, commanded by Mansfeldt, recalled him to Bohemia. He might have liberated Austria for ever, but knew not how to profit by his advantages.* The Hussites, however, proclaimed the deposition of Ferdinand, and elected in his stead Frederick V., count palatine, a young man only remarkable for his vanity and cowardice, sloth and incapacity. His reign lasted but one winter; for, when his army was beaten under the walls of Prague, on November 8, 1620, he got into his carriage and fled, without even attempting to defend his capital, which

* The clearest account of this episode will be found in Pelzel: Geschichte der Böhmen. Prague: 1774.

would have held out, perhaps successfully, for a long period. Ferdinand, who had been invested with the imperial purple in the preceding year, was now absolute master of Bohemia, and he carried out there, without obstacle or remorse, that system of Catholic reaction, which had been long introduced in his hereditary states. In all cases political oppression followed in the track of religious despotism.

CHAPTER II.

THE AUSTRIAN SYSTEM APPLIED IN BOHEMIA—THE FORTY-SEVEN MARTYRS OF PRAGUE.

FOR more than three months Ferdinand made no sign, took no revenge, and seemed to have forgotten his wrongs and his designs. A general amnesty had been published, guaranteeing the conquered pardon for their defeat, the safety of their property, persons, and honour. A few nobles profited by this delay to seek shelter beyond the frontier; but the majority suspected no snare. The emperor was waiting till Mansfeldt and his twelve thousand men had left Bohemia. Suddenly, on the 28th of February, 1621, forty-eight eminent persons, belonging to the nobility and citizen class, were arrested and cast into dungeons. This perjury had been decided on at a meeting of ecclesiastics, secretly held by the emperor's two confessors, four chiefs of the Jesuit order, and the superiors of several religious orders established in Austria. As the emperor evinced some scruples, and asked whether he could, without imperiling his salvation, follow the ex-

ample of the Duke of Alba, Father Lamormain said to him, with some irritation: "I will take all that on my own conscience." The next day the courier, bearing the fatal order, started for Bohemia.

As soon as this perfidious commentary on the amnesty arrived at Prague, the governor, Charles of Lichtenstein, assembled the imperial commissioners in a hall of the Hradschin, hung with black, and garnished with soldiers. The prisoners were brought in singly, and their condemnation to death announced to them. Many among them were not destined merely to the gibbet or the axe, but a more cruel end was reserved for them. Some were to have their tongues plucked out first, or the right hand cut off; others were to be quartered alive. The sentence declared all their property, real and personal, confiscate, which sealed the ruin of their families. All heard this odious sentence with heroic firmness: not one asked for mercy.

"Tear our bodies into a thousand pieces, trample on our entrails," Count Schlick said, "but you will find nothing we have not clearly and sincerely explained to the whole world in our Apology.* We were not actuated by ambition, we only took up arms at last to defend our persecuted religion, our violated constitution, and our national independence, which was trampled under foot. Frederick was conquered, Ferdinand gained the victory, but the result of the war has not improved his cause, or rendered that of Bohemia less just. God has delivered us into your hands. May His will be accomplished, and His name be praised!"

* Hormayr has printed this Apology *in extenso* in his Anemonen, vol. ii.

This mournful audience lasted from six in the morning till two in the afternoon. The captives, nobles and citizens, were then led back to their prison.

The next day, when the Prince of Lichtenstein was proceeding to mass, the wives and children of the condemned surrounded him, and fell at his feet with tearful prayers.

"The only favour I can grant them," the prince said, coldly and dryly, "is to allow them honourable burial."

And in the very presence of the wretched suppliants, he sent one of his servants to announce to the victims that their sentence would be executed at sunrise on the day after the next, and that each might call in a Jesuit, a Capuchin, or a minister of the Augsburg confession, but they would not be allowed to communicate with the Utraquist pastors. As the majority of them followed the principles of John Ziska, this decision was very painful. In this way it was desired to make the Elector of Saxony believe that no persecution went on against the Lutherans, but solely against the Hussites. Without being sent for, the Jesuits and Capuchins glided into the prisons and tried to convert the Dissenters; but they utterly failed, although they promised the condemned men pardon and restitution of their property. At nightfall, worn out by the opposition, the governor granted admission to the only ministers whose consolation the prisoners would accept.* The pastors supported them by their exhortations till the final moment, gave them the communion in the two elements, and sang hymns with them.

* One of these pastors, John Rosacius, wrote an account of all that took place in the dungeons.

On Sunday the scaffold was erected in the large square of the old town called the Ring, where the Hussite war had commenced, and it rested against the frontage of the Guildhall. It was entirely covered with red cloth. A throne with a canopy was put up against the façade for the governors, and chairs for the commissioners and registrars of the court. On the square a gibbet stretched out its hideous arm, while a window of the Town-hall gave direct access to the scaffold.

On the same day the culprits were led from their respective prisons to the municipal palace, and while walking through the streets sang the forty-fourth Psalm. The whole population ran to the windows, and the crowd melted into tears as they passed along.

The martyrs did not close their eyes for an instant: they prayed and exhorted the whole night through, proving their unvarying faith, and awaiting the dawn which would be the last. When day broke, a rainbow described its radiant curve athwart the night clouds. They fell on their knees and praised the Saviour, and one of them exclaimed, in an accent of inspiration:

"It is the symbol of the alliance God contracted with the human race: it is the arch on which his glorious throne reposes. In the words of the Apocalypse, Jesus is opening the heavens to us: He is the way, the life, and the truth!"

This discourse was suspended by the sound of the gun thundering from the platform of the royal castle. It was four in the morning, and this mournful sound announced the beginning of the sacrifice. Several squadrons of Hulans occupied the square and the entrance of the ad-

joining streets, while a triple row of chasseurs and arquebusiers surrounded the scaffold. Strong platoons, accompanied by artillery, held the centre of the main streets, and patrols of cuirassiers marched about the city during the entire ceremony.

The Prince of Lichtenstein mounted his throne, and the imperial commissioners seated themselves near him. Halberdiers formed a guard around them. The square, the streets, the windows, the roofs, were crowded with spectators, and every face expressed either consternation or pity. It seemed as if the last day of Bohemia had arrived. At five o'clock the hoarse sound of the gun was heard again; the mournful scene was about to commence. The victims embraced, and took leave of each other.

The first to appear on the scaffold was Count Schlick, one of the most powerful, rich, and noble lords of the country. The Elector of Saxony, with whom he had sought refuge, had surrendered him to the emperor. He was a man of fifty-three years of age, of majestic figure, and his face still bore traces of beauty. The Jesuits pursued him even to the scaffold. "I beg you to leave me at peace," he said to Father Sedicius, in an imposing voice. And as the sun, in all its splendour, had now risen above the houses, the martyr lifted his hand to Heaven: "Sun of divine justice!" he exclaimed, "O Jesus! deign to lead me to eternal light beyond the shadows of death!" Then he walked across the scaffold several times, with a calm and dignified air. He had been condemned to be quartered alive, and his limbs would be nailed to posts in several of the main streets. "Do you think I regret the loss of a tomb dug by your

hands?" he had replied to the tribunal; but the imperial clemency spared him this atrocious punishment, and he was only to lose his head. At length, he knelt down before the fatal block and received the death blow, after which the executioner cut off his right hand. Tears escaped from every eye, sobs burst from every breast. A piece of scarlet cloth had been stretched out beneath the block, and, so soon as the executioner had finished his task, some masked men wrapped up the count's remains in it, and bore them away. His head and hand, like those of his companions, were to be suspended in an iron cage from the town commanding the Moldau bridge. Count Schlick had studied very deeply, and conversed in Greek and Latin fluently.

The next to appear on the blood-stained stage was Wenceslaus of Budowa, a scholar renowned throughout Europe. He had been imperial ambassador to Constantinople, and was thoroughly acquainted with Eastern languages and Greek and Latin literature. His talents and learning rendered him only the more odious to the Jesuits, who fear and abhor any influence foreign to their order. He was seventy-four years of age when led before the judges and condemned. Pardon was offered him, and he smiled contemptuously. "You have thirsted for my blood for so many years," he replied to the members of the tribunal, "that I would not prevent your satisfying your thirst. I would rather die than see my country die." (Malo mori quàm patriam videre mori.)

His body was also wrapped up in red cloth, and carried off by the masked men.

General Christopher of Polzicz succeeded him. He it

was who, during the siege of Vienna, had cannonaded the imperial castle in which Ferdinand was trembling, and sent balls through its windows. It was an unpardonable offence to have affrighted the emperor. The general's acquaintance with natural history, and his travels in Asia and Africa, had also rendered him celebrated. The executioner hesitated ere he struck this illustrious man. "Surely the Jews fastened the son of God on the Cross!" the veteran said to him, and made him a sign to do his duty.

And now was witnessed a scene capable of exciting eternal indignation. A gentleman of ninety years of age, Gaspard Kaplizz, tottered on to the scaffold. The wretched old man had feared lest he should grow weak at the supreme moment, and, on leaving the hall for the scaffold, he muttered this prayer: "O God! fortify my heart, so that I may not lose courage before my enemies, or die like a timid man." On reaching the block he found great difficulty in bending his knees, which were stiffened by age. "As soon as you see me in the right posture," he said to the executioner, "strike without delay, for I cannot keep in this painful attitude long." And he bent his limbs with an effort, and bowed his hoary head. But the poor old man had placed himself so that he rendered the operation difficult, and the executioner begged him to raise his head. The minister Rosacius, who accompanied him, then said: "My noble lord, you have commended your soul to God; offer him joyfully this head, whitened by age, and raise it to heaven." The old man smiled, raised his brow by resting his hands on the block, and the heavy sword crashed through his neck.

The fearful scene went on. Whenever one of the martyrs strove to address the people, a roll of the drums or a peal of the trumpets drowned his voice. The executioner tore out the tongues of some of the victims prior to striking the blow; among these being the most famous of all the culprits, John of Jessen, whom anatomists regard as one of the founders of their science. All Europe respected this friend of Kepler and Tycho Brahé, who was chosen as physician by both the Emperors Rudolph and Matthias. Ferdinand had a mortal hatred for him, because he had thwarted his schemes on several occasions. Being an Hungarian by birth, Jessen possessed the lofty stature and muscular strength of the Magyar race. After walking several times across the scaffold, he turned to the prince and the judges, drew himself to his full height, and, drowning by his sonorous voice the drums and trumpets, shouted:

"In vain does Ferdinand satiate his sanguinary rage. Frederick V., the king elected by us, will again ascend the throne of Bohemia."

The executioner drew near to pluck out his tongue, in accordance with the sentence. "I am grieved," the learned doctor said, "to lose so outrageously this tongue which has spoken so many times, and not without glory, to emperors, queens, and princes. But neither this shameful treatment, nor the mutilation of my body, will prevent me from enjoying eternal life. Patriots will come and remove our heads from their iron cage, and piously render them the last duties." When the mutilation was accomplished, the hero tried once again to speak. In spite of the blood that filled his mouth, and which poured down the lips once so

eloquent, he stammered forth a prayer, holding his clasped hands to heaven. Soon after he knelt down, and the executioner put an end to his sufferings. After the death of all the victims, his body was carried beneath the gibbet, cut into four parts, and the bleeding limbs were exposed on posts.

Among the condemned, only one professed the Catholic religion. He was descended from an ancient royal family, and his name was Czernin of Chudenitz. Before the war he held a subordinate command in the castle of Prague, and was accused of having given the rebels admission. He victoriously refuted this accusation by showing an order written by his superior officer ordering him to open the gates. His real crime was that he had been born in a Lutheran house, and had long prayed to God with the Protestants. The Jesuits would not pardon his tolerance to his former co-religionists, or the advice he continually gave, that they should be gained over by kindness. A political motive also led to his being selected for the sacrifice. Ferdinand and his councillors did not wish the butchery to have the aspect of a religious persecution, and it was decided that a Catholic should die with the Protestants, and serve to disguise their real intentions. His vast domains also excited covetousness, and he had been chosen in preference to many others in order to share the plunder. In his sentence it was stated that the fingers of his right hand, *which ought to have held the keys of the castle better*, should be cut off. He heartily joined in the pious exercises of his companions in misfortune, repulsed the Jesuit who followed him to the scaffold, and exclaimed: "You can take my body, but my soul laughs at

your vengeance." A few seconds later he had ceased to breathe.

Each time that a Protestant minister returned from the scaffold, when he had exhorted a victim, he rendered testimony to his inflexible constancy, and thus fortified the resolution of the survivors. When all the nobles had perished, the murder of the citizens was proceeded with. Forty-seven persons were mutilated and decapitated from five o'clock till nine! What a spectacle for Prince Lichtenstein and his imperial auxiliaries! what a touching scene for all religious minds! The heads of a large number were fixed on spikes set up before their houses: the head and hand of Leander Ripel were nailed to the door of the Guildhall; Wodnyansky was hanged on a gibbet erected in the square; while two senators, father and son-in-law, suffered the same fate. Their bodies swung from the balcony of the Town-house.

Only one of the condemned men obtained a commutation of his punishment, at the very moment he was about to kneel at the block; his name was Sextus von Ottersdorf, and he survived his companions for more than thirty years.

While the flower of the kingdom was thus falling under the axe, Ferdinand was occupying himself with them, and gave them marks of interest after his fashion. The pious emperor had undertaken, on behalf of his victims, a pilgrimage to Maria Zell, a place of devotion, celebrated at the period. There, prostrate before the statue of the Virgin, he incessantly prayed the holy Madonna "to intercede with God in favour of the rebels, so that He might deign to enlighten their minds, and make them

return to the merciful bosom of the Catholic Church, which alone could save their souls." And yet he had given ferocious orders, and chosen his implacable agents: ten of the martyrs averaged no less than seventy years of age!

The heads and hands of the murdered men remained for ten years in the iron cage. After the battle of Leipzig the proscripts returned to Bohemia with the Swedish army, and Prague was again governed by the Count of Thurn. The whitened bones of the martyrs were removed, and a solemn procession transported them to the Vatican of Bohemia, the church of Stein. The service was performed, and a funeral oration pronounced; but, as the country might once again fall under the dominion of the emperor, they did not dare to bury them during the day. Disguised men took them in the dead of night, and interred them secretly, lest the obstinate hatred of the Jesuits might rifle their tomb.

This first sacrifice was only the commencement of the persecution—a weak foretaste of the cruelties and terror Ferdinand was preparing. The day after the execution the three municipal advocates were publicly flogged by the hangman; one before the old Town-hall, the second before the Mint, the third in front of the Green Stag Hotel. The communal registrar, who had received Frederick V. on the day of his solemn entry, in the old dress worn in the time of John Ziska, had his tongue nailed to a gibbet, and was not released till he had endured this punishment for two hours.

Matthias Borbon, physician to three emperors, was condemned to death; but Prince Lichtenstein saved him,

and his innocence was proved beyond a doubt. Chrysostome Schrepel, one of the judges, or, to speak more correctly, commissioners, who condemned him, fell into a violent rage, and, as he stood on intimate terms with the Jesuits and the court, even the governor himself had to be careful. The truth was, he coveted the splendid Borbon Hotel, and, to soothe his disappointment, he had the physician waylaid as he was leaving the prince's palace, and had him beaten so mercilessly that he was thought to be dead. Repeated attempts were then made to convert him, until at last, weary of this persecution, he proceeded to Poland, where he was welcomed by King Ladislaus, and died there in the performance of his important duties.

After the punishment of the forty-seven martyrs, scaffolds and gibbets were erected in every part of Bohemia. Sentences of confiscation, exile, and perpetual imprisonment followed each other without relaxation. The persecutors aggravated the consequences by a diabolical invention, for an imperial decree condemned all the sons and grandsons of individuals treated as criminals, under one pretext or the other, to wear round their necks a red silk cord, representing the mark of the axe. This emblem was intended to make them constantly remember that if they still wore their heads on their shoulders it was owing to the clemency of the sovereigns. It was also a means to indicate them to the Jesuits. What ideas must have been produced in the minds of these young people by this abominable sign, which reminded them of the captivity, despair, or death of their relations, and the punishment with which they were, themselves, menaced? They

wandered about like shadows, scarcely caring for an existence so precarious; reading in every glance pity or hatred, and already bearing the mark of the fatal blow. Bigots have at times singular inspirations!

Bohemia lost all her political and religious liberties, and the right of electing her own sovereigns; the nobility could not even hand down their property to their children, without first obtaining the emperor's consent. After the battle of Prague, Adam of Waldstein carried to Ferdinand the edict of toleration and the other charters, which guaranteed the privileges of the country. "These, then," the monarch exclaimed, "are the scrawls which caused my predecessors so much anxiety." And he tore up the sacred title-deeds and threw the fragments behind the fire. What he desired was the usurpation of the rights of all by one man, or that confiscation of a people's life which is called absolute power.

The native language and literature were also proscribed and eternally abolished. All Bohemian books, all the precious MSS. of the time of Charles IV., George Podiebrad, and Rudolph II., perished like the Alexandrine library. They were declared one mass of heresy and sacrilege, and were carried off to the lay-stall, where they formed enormous piles, and were solemnly burned with savage joy.

Everything that reminded the Bohemians of the glorious reminiscences of their history was destroyed. On Holy Thursday, 1622, the large golden chalice, the figurative emblem of the Hussite faith, and the terrible sword of John Ziska, before which kings and emperors had trembled, were both removed from the church of Stein,

where they were religiously preserved, and on the 6th of July, the anniversary of the punishment of John Huss, all the heterodox churches were closed.

Still the persecutions of individuals were continued. The most terrifying thing about them was their utter irregularity. Participation in resistance, and the degree of that participation, did not at all decide the penalty; that depended absolutely on personal relations, opinions in religious matters, and, above all, on the fortune the culprit possessed, for right-minded men displayed great greed for the castles, domains, and splendid furniture of the conquered. In a celebrated letter addressed to the Emperor Matthias, Ferdinand had already boasted of confiscation as an admirable resource: "The property of the rebels thus serves to pay the expenses of the war," he wrote; "and the submission produced by chastisements and severity has an advantage of a similar nature, for, in the assembly of the estates and other analogous circumstances, it causes them to vote abundant contributions."

For this purpose fanatic Ultramontanes, or renegade Protestants, were everywhere installed in power, and the Lutherans and Hussites were abandoned to them uncontrolled. Insatiable parvenus, sprung from the lowest ranks, decided the fate of the most noble and most esteemed persons. Every denunciation was taken as an incontestable fact, and the scum of the human race bore witness before the tribunals which had usurped the functions of justice. Martin of Huerda, originally a journeyman tailor, after serving as lacquey in several Bohemian families, had turned spy, and finally soldier. Through his resolution and suppleness, he gained the rank of

captain in the cavalry; by his intrigues with women, that of baron. A great lady, whose livery he had worn, kept him for a long time, as he was an amusing, handsome, and stalwart fellow. Having been sent to announce to Ferdinand the result of the battle of Prague, the emperor began conversing with him about the further measures to be taken. "Cut them all to pieces without distinction of rank or person," the scoundrel suggested, "so that neither arm nor leg may be left this heretic people." Martin himself published his odious proposal, and boasted of having made it. The emperor made him this reply: "Unfortunately, the Elector of Bavaria has already held out hopes of pardon to the rebels. But we shall find other means to lower the pride of this presumptuous people, to destroy heresy, and bring them all back to the bosom of the Catholic Church, the only haven of salvation."

Another adventurer, Paul Michna, held different views as to the course to be pursued. He was the son of a butcher at Budin, and from his youth up had served as lacquey to the Jesuits. A rapid elevation was the reward of his sanguinary zeal against his country. He was laden with pensions, made chevalier, baron, and, finally, count. He considered the system of extermination and expulsion *en masse* useless, or, at least, premature, for the Dissenting nobility still possessed, according to him, too many precious things which they could carry off, and thus alleviate their exile. It would be better to ruin them by degrees, exhaust them adroitly, and end by banishing them. This mode of procedure received the sanction of government.

As Prague and other important towns had surrendered unconditionally on the promise of an amnesty, and were thus defenceless, the soldiers were allowed to enter the houses of rich citizens during the night and plunder them. Not desiring to lose their share of the booty, the officers disguised themselves for these infamous expeditions, and set their soldiers an example of avidity. The rogues in uniform boasted of having thus carried off several barrels of gold. The open country was plundered with equal audacity and violence by ferocious bands composed of Germans, Italians, French, Cossacks, Spaniards, Poles, and Walloons, who made a sport of murder and arson.

The soldiers billeted on private persons treated them not a whit better: they carried their insolence and assumption beyond all bounds. The simple peasant was expected to supply them with sumptuous repasts, nor would they sit down to table unless their host had placed a fine thaler beneath their plate.

This authorised brigandage became the pretext for equally ruinous measures. In every direction imperial commissions were sent out, promising each person rest and security for a monetary consideration: they needed only to pay a certain sum in order to free themselves from military quarterings and nocturnal attacks—but the sum was exorbitant. Struck with terror, the nobles, the citizens, and country people hastened to pay it, and then came a fresh artifice. On behalf of the people, it was thought desirable to collect large supplies of provisions, and such purchases, of course, required heavy sums of money. Then regiments had to be clothed and equipped; once more the people paid. These had scarcely been

provided for than they were removed, and their place was taken by ragged bands of gipsies. These had to be clothed, too, under compulsion, and the people had to empty their purses, for the victors would only accept coins in good circulation.

In 1622, when it was assumed that the country had been stripped of all its ready money, it was inundated with a coinage of silvered copper, which was declared illegal two years later. It lost at one swoop nine-tenths of its value, trade was destroyed, and misery attained its highest pitch. Michna, the quondam butcher-boy, was very proud of these tactics. "The conventional money," he said, "has entailed greater ruin on Bohemia than ten years of military occupation, or than if it had been half reduced to ashes."

Soon after, a very strange decree was issued: it stated that any one who had lent a sum of money during the war, and had taken part in the rebellion, should not be repaid. If the sum had been lent before the troubles, he would lose one-half, together with the interest; as to the other half, he would only receive it after the expiration of ten years. The treasury received the money instead of the creditors.

But general measures did not satisfy Ferdinand's rancour. Nine months after the terrible execution of the 21st of June, he proclaimed an amnesty of a novel description: it was a snare he offered to his opponents. In order to benefit by the favour offered, all persons compromised must send in their names to be enrolled in the list of pardoned. Seven hundred and twenty persons belonging to the aristocracy put faith in the prince's

word, and, desiring to be freed from their state of alarm, confessed themselves guilty of rebellion. Immediately their property was confiscated, either totally or in part: those who were not completely stripped lost one-third, half, or two-thirds of their possessions. This act of clemency brought in the pious pupil of the Jesuits forty-three million florins—an enormous sum for the period. The list of confiscations filled a large folio volume. The same violence and disloyalty passed like a pestilence through Moravia, for that country had shared in the resistance of Bohemia, and the Count of Thurn had tried to prolong the struggle there after the submission of the latter country. All the nobility, at the head of them being the family of the future Chancellor Kaunitz, lost their estates, and were obliged to proceed to a foreign country. In the house of Ulrich of Kaunitz, at Brünn, Frederick V. had been chosen king by acclamation; a capital punishment was passed on his son, but the emperor granted him his mercy. "Even if there are innocent men among you," the black band of St. Ignatius said, "they would not be the less deserving punishment, for they bear on their brow the original taint of heresy, and on their conscience the possession of too large a fortune."

The richest and most active portion of the community was thus exterminated, or put to flight. Hormayr, keeper of the archives at Vienna during twenty-five years, has drawn up a startling list, in which the chiefs of the principal families figure as banished.* A celebrated historian of the age, Paul Stransky, driven from Leitmeritz with

* Taschenbuch für die Vaterländische Geschichte. Jahrgang 1836.

remarkable brutality, escaped to the north of Germany, and thence to Holland, where he published a work, in which he describes the sufferings of his countrymen. The famous Comenius, after having seen his property plundered, his vast library destroyed, and, worst grief of all, his MSS. burnt, sought a refuge in Poland, where he published a philological work, well known to the learned, under the title Janua Linguarum. In England he brought out his Orbis Pictus, which still serves as a model for compositions of a similar nature.* When he died at Amsterdam, at the age of eighty, he had spent fifty years out of his own country. The exiles peopled Upper Hungary, which had never been so flourishing, the magnates of those cantons having received them with generous hospitality. Poland was also an asylum for the proscripts: the Radzivill family and the Palatine of Belcz displayed the most noble interest in them. England, Denmark, and Holland greeted them with equal warmth, and, like the French Calvinists after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Bohemian and Moravian Reformers settled in fugitive groups through the whole of Europe. The Duke of Brieg in Silesia, the Margrave of Ansbach and Baireuth, and the Elector of Saxony, opened their states to them. They enriched by their industrious activity not only Hungary, as we just stated, but Pomerania and Brandenburg. A considerable number even changed their continent: they proceeded to Asia and America in their search of liberty of conscience. Across the ocean several towns may still be found bearing the names of

* M. Gailer has just published a book of this description, Neuer Orbis Pictus für die Jügend, nach Comenius.

Bohemian and Moravian cities, such as Fulnek, Prerau, and Herrenhut: they were reminiscences of their country which the wretched beings transported into the desert.

These remembrances were for many of them a cause of suffering and a decree of death. The Swedish and Saxon armies several times penetrated to the heart of Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War: thus the victory of Jankau, gained by the valiant Torstenson over the imperial troops, opened to him this blood-stained country. Each time many exiles hastened to see once more their native soil, the castles of their ancestors where foreign families now reigned, the sky which had shone on their infancy, the country where their youth had been spent, and, on every occasion, the reverses of their protectors caused many of them to fall into the hands of the Jesuits. They expired under torture, or languished in dungeons, victims to their indomitable hope, and their faith in the reprisals of eternal justice.

Only the more cautious and phlegmatic among them kept on their guard. The emperor offered a pardon to Frederick of Roggendorf, ex-governor of an Austrian province, if he would return to his country. "What pardon?" he asked. "Is it that given to the Bohemian nobles: death by the axe? or that of Moravia: perpetual imprisonment? or that of Austria: confiscation of all landed property?"

If the most considerable persons were treated in this way, the citizens, workmen, and peasants were still less spared. The measures employed against these wretched beings were, in truth, outrages on human nature. Thus the villagers, their wives and children, were driven to

mass by letting loose bull-dogs on them, or cutting them with huntsmen's whips. Not only was a formal and public abjuration demanded of them, but they were compelled to spit on the chalice, the symbol of their faith, and trample it under foot. Many of the apostate lords, such as Mittrowsky, William Klenau, Slawata, and Martinitz, imprisoned and tortured their vassals, thrashing them with sticks or the flat of their sabres, in order to make them kneel before the Holy Sacrament. They forced their mouths open with the butt of their fusils, or iron wedges, in order to thrust in the host and make them communicate with only one element. A noble of the name of Kinko Czernohorsky, and well worthy to bear that barbarous name, entered on horseback into the church of Kerxzin, galloped up to the altar, seized the cup full of consecrated wine, and poured the liquid down his horse's throat, shouting: "My horse is as good as you: like you, he is a Utraquist."* After these insolent words he fell, sword in hand, on the faithful, wounded a large number, killed several, and dragged others out of the church as prisoners of war.

When threats, blows, spoliation, and torture were not sufficient to convert the heterodox, they were assailed in the noblest and deepest of human feelings: their children were torn from them, and martyred in their sight, in order to tame their resistance and overcome their courage. Parents could not behold their boys and girls mutilated without yielding, and then a priest dictated to them the form of abjuration. Two officers on one of these ferocious

* A name given to the Hussites from the Latin word "utraque," because they communicated in both forms.

expeditions seized a naked child, and, each holding it by a foot, cut it in two with their sabres: then they offered the father and mother the bleeding halves. "Here you have both sorts," they said, with a jovial air, as if quite delighted with their jest.*

We may imagine the fate of the Dissenting priests in the midst of such a persecution! They were surrendered, undefending victims, to the bestiality of the soldiers. Some men entered the house of the curate of Bistritz, an old man of seventy, whom illness confined to his bed; they plundered his house, and then shot him as he lay. Paul Moller was killed by a bullet while in the pulpit, and the minister Capito was poniarded and cut open in his house. Some of the ecclesiastics died a slower and more fearful death: the mercenaries piled up their books and MSS., suspended them over the mass, and then fired it. Others were roasted on coals or before a brazier, like Laurence Kurzius, John Bereneck, and Moses Antecœnius, in order to extort money from them. After binding a priest of the name of Maresch, they violated his two daughters before his eyes, then stoned him, pierced him with their lances, and cut him up with their sabres. With others they first cut off the right hand, and then the head: some, like Matthias Ulisky, were cut into four pieces. John Buffler was fastened to a tree, and served as a target for the protectors of the Ultramontane dogma. When soldiers passed a Reformed minister, they fired on him as on a wild beast, and left his corpse lying there. An edict was at length issued, ordering all the Hussite priests to quit

* Hormayr: Taschenbuch für die Vaterländische Geschichte. Jahrgang 1836.

Bohemia and Moravia within eight days. The same fate was reserved for the Lutheran clergy, but a favourable moment was awaited, and a pretext sought lest the Elector of Saxony might be scandalised.

The dead themselves were not left at peace in their tombs. The remains of glorious John Ziska, and of the eloquent Rockyczana, were torn from their sepulchres and scattered over the ground. No heterodox priest, no Hussite, would henceforth be allowed to be buried with funeral honours.

"These measures must neither surprise nor irritate you," the Jesuits went about preaching; "we are only labouring for your welfare. Heretics are like children, or persons suffering from brain-fever, from whom all objects are removed by which they might injure themselves; if it is found requisite to take from them a knife or a rapier, promises are made them which there is no intention of keeping. Feel glad, then, that we come to the aid of your poor souls, and testify your gratitude to the emperor: sustain him with all your wealth, second him with all your efforts. If the Catholic dogma could possibly contain any error, or if you fancy you incur any danger by embracing it, we will take all that on our conscience—our souls will respond for our words." Such pious motives authorised the most violent proceedings, and, in consequence, a real inquisition was established, under the name of the Counter-Reformation, armed with unlimited authority, whose judgments were without appeal, and which was presided over by the Archbishop of Prague.

We seem to have reached the extreme bounds of

hypocrisy and horror, and that we can add nothing: but what we have yet to say is even more horrible. For two centuries the Austrian government forbade any one writing on this subject, and kept the Viennese archives closed. The courage of Hormayr, the revolution of 1848, the skill of some clever men, the clumsy servility of panegyrists, and the probable ignorance of the young emperor, have at length opened the terrible catacomb, and thousands of accusing phantoms issue from it. It is time to name them and make their history known. I doubtlessly draw up a fearful inventory, but I must do so: humanity must know the price paid for the right of free inquiry; that right, without which political guarantees and civil laws save neither from persecution, ruin, banishment, nor the scaffold; for, by virtue of metaphysical principles, all are violated, and nations are forced to retrograde to barbarism, under the pretext of leading them to the right road.

Implacable and astute, the reactionary party proceeded step by step, smiting one after the other the various classes of society, and daily inventing fresh scourges to oppress a defenceless nation. Were these fanatic hangmen ignorant of the beautiful words of St. Luke,* "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again"? Or was it that they really had no faith or law, and solely pursued an earthly object, while constantly invoking Heaven, that revolted at their maxims, while praying as others blaspheme, and consecrating the Host with blood-stained fingers?

* Chap. vi. 37-38.

On the 28th of September, 1622, all the Mennonites and Anabaptists, without exception, were expelled from the country, under the pretext that one of them had received into his house Frederick V., the Winter King, as he was called in mockery. In the month of October the turn of the Lutheran ministers arrived. The Papal nuncio, Signor Caraffa, himself regarded this measure as precipitate. Ferdinand replied: "My conscience does not permit me to suffer a single heretic in a country I govern" —a harsh sentence whispered to the bigot prince by Father Lamormain, and which announced renewed proscriptions. Other edicts, in fact, accompanied the sentence of exile. No estate could henceforth be enrolled in the cadaster as belonging to a sectician; no Protestant had a right to sit in a municipal council. On those who refused to be converted the authorities quartered Croat, Spanish, and Walloon soldiers, cruel as fanatics, and insolent as conquerors.

Austria Proper did not form a portion of Ferdinand's hereditary states; he had begun to govern it in 1613, in the name of the emperor, and he did not exercise sovereign authority there till the death of Matthias, in 1619. Hence he had not had time yet to re-establish Catholicism there by perfidy and violence. The tyrannical decrees issued against Bohemia and Moravia, when the gain of a battle was the authority for committing every possible crime, soon had the force of law in a province that had remained quiet and faithful. Thus the omnipotent order of Loyola wished it.

Silesia alone obtained better conditions, at least verbally. The Elector of Saxony had passed his word to the people

that religious liberty should be granted them if they would voluntarily surrender, but they had scarce laid down their arms ere this solemn promise was violated. Count Annibal Dohna rushed upon the towns and hamlets with Lichtenstein's celebrated dragoons, the Jesuits and Capuchins. He went from house to house, threatening, plundering, torturing those whom the Gospels bade him spare. This miserable man, whom neither infancy nor old age moved to tenderness, made jests on his own ferocity. He surnamed himself Selig-macher (ensurer of blessedness).

In the month of July, 1624, Prince Lichtenstein convoked the governors of the different circles, and these profound politicians drew up together the following decree:

"Art. 1. Every individual not professing the Catholic faith is forbidden to carry on any trade or lucrative profession, or gain money by his labour.

"Art. 2. Any one who gives a shelter to an Evangelical priest will die on the scaffold, and forfeit all his property; any one who allows a heretic priest to preach, baptise, or marry in his house, will pay a fine of one hundred florins.

"Art. 3. The orthodox ministers will not accompany the bodies of heretics to the place of sepulchre, but they will be paid just as if they had accompanied them. By a special grace, Protestant women married to Catholics will be tolerated in Bohemia during the lifetime of their husbands; but they must quit the country immediately they become widows, and from that time can receive no inheritance. They are forbidden to appear at weddings, festivities, and rejoicings; if allowed to be present at

them, under certain circumstances, they must be placed after the last of the Catholic women, without reference to their birth or rank. If any Bohemian emigrant return secretly to his country, it is enjoined as a duty to denounce him, attack him, and aid in his arrest."

We will not give the whole text of this long decree; it will be enough to point out the most remarkable points. Articles 6 and 7 condemn to banishment, and the loss of their property, all who eat meat on days of abstinence, and those who turn to ridicule the Catholic service or their parish priest. If any one instruct children secretly, he will be stripped of all he possesses, and the sergeants will expel him from the town, under the lash. Catholics alone have a right to make a will. The fine arts, like professions, are interdicted to the Lutherans. Any one mocking God, the holy Virgin, or the ceremonies of Papacy, will incur the penalty of death, and confiscation of his property. Suspicious images and caricatures will be destroyed.

The decree terminates with an abominable sentence, which we have translated literally:

"Art. 15. The poor taken care of in the hospitals must embrace the Catholic religion before All Saints-day, in default of which they will be turned out, *no matter what their physical condition may be;* and in future none but the orthodox will be received. SUCH ARE THE INTENTIONS AND THE IMMUTABLE WILL OF HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY.

(Signed) "CHARLES,
"PRINCE OF LICHTENSTEIN."

To cast into the street in the month of November, into the damp, and cold, and snow, the sick and dying, under a pretext of religion, was certainly a novelty. May the entire glory of the invention remain to the House of Habsburg!

But these decrees, legislative measures, executions, and partial violence, only heightened the appetite of the pious monarch, and seemed to him desperately slow. "We are not progressing," the Jesuits doubtless said to him. In order to hurry on the business, disguised emissaries were sent to the principal markets, with orders to mingle with the crowd, pick quarrels with the peasants, and create a tumult. The imperial troops drawn up close by then rushed on the multitude, struck right and left, and murdered all the natives whom they supposed to be above twelve years of age: *omne jugularetur à duodecim annis*— such are the words used by the Jesuits. Let us imagine one of these hideous scenes: unarmed agriculturists and citizens surprised by the ferocious troops in the midst of their peaceful avocations; men, women, and youths killed; the merchandise scattered over the ground, and covered with blood; the cries of horror, the fugitives, the curses, and the vain resistance of the braver among them; the despair of the mothers, the groans of the dying; and then a funeral silence, a square, desolate and gloomy, dead bodies piled up on the ground, and the last victims writhing convulsively in their agony!

CHAPTER III.

PARTIAL RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLES—FERDINAND II. COMPLETES THE DEGRADATION OF AUSTRIA.

A SOLITARY attempt at popular resistance took place: the oppressed ran to arms in Austria. The upper part of that province had been pledged to Maximilian of Bavaria, in payment of his expenses during the Bohemian campaign, and the harsh elector entrusted the government of this district to a man as stern and pitiless as himself, Count Adam Herberstorf. The nobility had abandoned the country, and Easter-day, 1626, was fixed on as the moment by which the last trace of heresy must have disappeared. The peasants, nearly all Lutherans, resolved to fight desperately in order to obtain liberty of conscience. Assembling to the number of eighty thousand men, they selected as general Stephen Fadinger, a hatter by trade, who combined great firmness with a considerable share of finesse. This plebeian chief shared the command with a mysterious personage, a student, who afterwards died on the field of battle, and whose name

history has never been able to discover. The King of Denmark sent an ambassador to the insurgents; Venice, Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, and the Count of Mansfeldt entered into communication with them through secret emissaries. Europe turned its eyes towards these champions of justice.

Fadinger put a select regiment, that marched at the head of the popular cohorts, in black uniforms, as a symbol of the national mourning. Herberstorf marched against them, convinced that he would triumph over these rustic bands without difficulty, but they routed his troops twice. The peasants had inscribed on their banners, "From his yoke, his tyranny, and his extortions, deliver us, O Lord! Bestow on us intrepid courage, for our souls and our welfare, our bodies and our blood, are at stake." The conquerors occupied Wells, Kremsmünster, Gmünden, and Vœklabruck, and their numbers increased daily. Tilly tried in vain to check their progress; but Freistadt and Enns soon fell into their hands, and they encamped beneath the walls of Linz.

Here they had the misfortune to lose their general; while marching round the town with his regiment of Guards, on the 28th June, 1626, a cannon-ball fractured his leg, and killed his horse. He died on the 8th July, at Ebersberg. The peasants gave him a noble as successor, Wiellinger von der Au. He experienced two defeats, which were unimportant, as the Imperialists did not disengage Linz till the end of August, although the Bavarians had revictualled the town and broken the chain which the insurgents had drawn across the Danube.

The Austrian commissioners concluded an armistice

with them at the town of Enns, but Maximilian would not accept it, and sent against the Lutherans the Duke of Holstein and General Lindlo. Both were utterly routed, with the loss of their guns and baggage: while the duke himself escaped in his shirt. Colonel Lœbl experienced an equally sanguinary defeat near Wells.

Maximilian, in his fury, determined on putting an end to these defeats, and he sent against the peasants Count Pappenheim, a general of extraordinary boldness, cunning, and rapidity. This skilful captain employed the most refined tactics to baffle the vigilance of the peasants. By night marches and long détours, he joined the Austrians at Linz, and attacked the Dissenters at Efferding, on the 9th November. The peasants displayed heroic bravery; Pappenheim himself mentions, in a letter, that he never witnessed similar fury. Singing psalms, invoking the Lord, and uttering terrific cries, they rushed on the horsemen, dragged them from their steeds, and struck them with clubs, spears, and maces. Ambushed in ravines, clumps of trees and hedgerows, behind walls and houses, other mountaineers kept up a rolling fire, which decimated the Papal battalions. The orthodox troops gave ground several times, and Pappenheim had to make extraordinary efforts to continue the fight. He was wounded, as were nearly all his generals. But at last destiny—blind destiny—declared itself for the bad cause, and the defenders of free inquiry were overthrown. On November 13th the imperial army recaptured Gmünden; on the 19th and 20th it gained two more victories. A few days later Pappenheim surrounded the rustics, forced their entrenchments, and massacred with pious rage men

who had been driven to extremities by a pitiless tyranny. The province was soon in military occupation; that admirable country which Nature appeared to have created for the happiness of mankind, and which the ignorant government had inflicted with a curse.

The leaders, among them General Wiellinger, who were taken prisoners during the battle, were conveyed to Linz, and divided into two bands. The first perished on the scaffold on the 26th March, the other on the 23rd April, 1627. Ever blood, ever carnage, torture, and death! What Christian devotion and charity! what evangelic gentleness!

Pappenheim himself had such a lofty idea of his painful triumph, that he hung up his sword in the church of Gmünden, consecrating it to that God who has been insultingly called the God of Battles. A slab of marble, with a lengthy inscription, still testifies to his joy and pride.

The province subjugated by his skilful tactics and boldness still holds him in most terrible memory. The peasants believe he was Satan in person. An old popular ballad, printed some five-and-twenty years ago, deplores the misfortunes of his victims, and seems, after two centuries, to invoke his pity. These melancholy verses remind the mountaineers of days of distress, followed by lengthened oppression; and while the poor villagers proceed to mass to hear a wearisome sermon, they evoke around them the shades of the martyrs, and point out to them the path leading to the Catholic temple still red with the blood of their ancestors.

Pappenheim's victory seemed to authorise new persecu-

tions. On the 21st of July, 1627, the day consecrated to St. Ignatius of Loyola, an imperial decree expelled all Dissenters from Bohemia and Austria. So great was the blind fanaticism of the prince, that he said to his entourage, with an air of conviction, "I am astonished that the Reformers detest me: do they not see that I persecute them solely through affection, and to ensure their eternal happiness?" Thus legitimising his cruelty, Ferdinand spared no one, and inflicted every possible scourge on the peoples whom cruel fate had subjected to him. In his new decree he granted a respite of six months to Protestants belonging to the higher classes, that they might instruct themselves in the Catholic dogmas, and deliver their abjuration into the hands of the patented commissaries. If, after the expiration of that period, they would not deny their faith, they were bound to sell their estates to orthodox persons and quit the country, to which they could not return till they had changed their confession. The edict also banished Protestant widows and women married to Catholics. The former must leave in their own country all children under age, in default of which all their present property would be seized, and any future inheritance confiscated in advance.

A large number of noble children, and even adolescents and girls of nubile age, were hereupon carried off, and placed in monastic institutions to be converted by the Jesuits. The administration of their estates was torn from their guardians and entrusted to greedy bigots, who grew fat on charity. These lucrative rights of surveillance excited most scandalous disputes among celebrated persons, who squabbled over the plunder of the oppressed, as, for

instance, between the Princes of Lichtenstein and Wallenstein, and Nachot and Slawata. The incalculable evils resulting from such domestic persecutions may be easily estimated. All the ties of nature were severed, all family principles audaciously violated. Young, delicate, and timid women, adorned with all the graces bestowed by education, were abandoned without a check to the most hypocritical and sensual of men: neither tears, prayers, nor flight could save them from outrage, and the assassins of their relatives gained an easy victory over their weakness.

Nor did the ministers of the official Church place any greater restraint on their conduct. The new Catholic dean of Bömischbrod persuaded his female parishioners that their kindness to him would be the best proof of their piety, for he was the representative of God on earth. But the seducer was soon seduced. As he had been brought in from Poland, a baker's wife, a very charming creature, proposed to fly with him, and return to his country. She dressed herself in man's clothes, and the couple made their escape. Chevalier Capun having reproached the curate of Backow for his licentious habits, the unworthy priest was so exasperated that he collected a band of vagabonds, forced his way at night into his lordship's castle, beat him till almost dead, and then proceeded to break the windows of some citizens who had also disapproved of his conduct. As for the young men, the English language will not allow us to describe the treatment to which they were exposed. When the Jesuits had expelled the Protestant pastors of the different communities, they divided their livings among themselves; but,

not being sufficiently numerous to perform the duties, each member of the order held charge of seven or eight parishes. They were, consequently, obliged to summon assistants, who were obtained from Poland, where the Catholic priests had fallen into a state of profound degradation, and had contracted the most loathsome habits. They unblushingly corrupted all the rustic youths.*

Other disorders set in relief the virtue and disinterestedness of the orthodox clergy. As the Reformers were asked for written testimony of their zeal for Catholicism, the Ultramontane priests worked audaciously on their repugnance and fears. They sold tickets of confession at any price they liked to ask. An ecclesiastic of Neustadt, Laurence Nizbursky, gained by this manœuvre enough gold to fill a cask. The scandal was considered too gross, and he was arrested, with more than one hundred citizens who had enriched him against their will. All were condemned to death: the laymen escaped the axe by abjuring the doctrines of the Reformation; but the simoniacal priest had his head cut off on the Ring square, April 7, 1631. Throughout the entire Austrian monarchy only thirty families of the old nobility still remained: some of them had not abandoned the Catholic faith, while others had found it advisable to return to it. Thus, the Lichtensteins renounced the rights of human intelligence in 1600. The province of Austria only contained thirteen noble families. The patricians emigrated to North Germany

* Meist kamen unwissende Mönche aus Polen, und die allerverruchtesten Menschen, die insonderheit in der Pæderastie in Böhmen Epoche machten. Hormayr: Taschenbuch für Vaterländische Geschichte. Jahrgang 1836.

and the whole of Europe. Many entered the service of France, Sweden, Denmark, Brunswick, Hesse, Holland, Transylvania, Poland, and even of the Sultan. Several died in a foreign land, in a state of utter poverty.

While thus despoiling all the old national aristocracy, Ferdinand set up in their place a new aristocracy, whom he endowed with the estates of the persecuted. A troop of servile men and ferocious lacqueys invaded the domains and castles of the ancient race. Italians, Hungarians, Poles, Spaniards, Walloons, and Croats, rushed upon the prey. The country was inundated with titles: the pupil of the Jesuits created thirty princes of the Holy Empire, seventy counts, and one hundred barons, as we learn from the *Status Regiminis Ferdinandi*, published by the Elzivirs. But Dr. Vehse correctly tells us that this list is far from being complete. We miss in it many important and celebrated persons, such as the Counts Gallas, Colloredo, Maradas, the murderers of Wallenstein, Leslie and Butler, Field-Marshal Hlo, Slawata, Martinitz, Brenner, and a multitude of others. Fourteen counts, among whom we may notice Illo, Tilly, and Pappenheim, obtained the right of adding to their title the pompous epithet "most illustrious." It was at this period that the Tour and Taxis family first emerged from obscurity.

This mushroom nobility was entirely devoted to the House of Austria and the Jesuits. It established in Austria, with the active co-operation of the Spanish order, a system half military, half clerical. The holy water sprinkle and the sabre have, since that period, been substituted for the sceptre and the hand of justice in the imperial palace of Vienna. Formed of varying

elements, possessing no ties with the past, no domestic traditions, and no national character, this aristocracy has never been useful to civilisation. Parvenus of a foreign race do not love the people at whose expense they grow rich and swagger.

Though so cruel to others, Ferdinand was full of care for himself. He trembled at the appearance of the slightest danger. Though his whole reign was one continued war, he never learned how to wield a sword. Only once, during Rudolph's war with the Ottomans, could he be induced to appear among the Imperialists, then encamped beneath the walls of Kanischa, in Hungary. But so great was his emotion, that he decided, before setting out, on making his will and invoking the aid of God. The future emperor at length quitted Grätz with enormous splendour, and, when he drew near the camp, he noticed a dense dust raised by oxen and pigs, that were being driven in. Ferdinand believed it was a squadron of marauding spahis; he was attacked by a panic terror, and his alarm affected the whole corps d'armée marching after him. All these brave men, taking to flight, galloped off at full speed, in spite of the efforts made by Count Trautmansdorf to encourage the prince, traversed Hungary and Styria, crossed the Mur, and only regained their courage when safe on the other bank.* This was Ferdinand's solitary campaign: from that time his courage was only displayed in the forests upon inoffensive beasts: like Falstaff stabbing the dead, the gloomy emperor

* Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes, vol. iii. p. 134.

killed timid animals, in order to persuade himself that he, too, had a hero's heart.

Proud of hearing himself called by the Jesuits Catholicæ fidei defensor acerrimus (the most ardent defender of the Catholic faith), the emperor desired to erect a monument which should recal to future generations his victory over heresy. The spot selected for the new church was the White Mountain, where a single unlucky battle had decided the fate of Bohemia. The Archbishop of Prague laid the first stone, in the presence of the imperial family, on the 25th of April, 1628.

"Whatever may happen," Ferdinand II. and Maximilian of Bavaria would say, "we have combated for God, preferred things eternal to things transitory, justice to iniquity, the positive to the uncertain. With the aid of the Creator we have done nothing but what deserves approval, for there are no heretics left in our states, and our faith is delivered from every spot." In this way these blind fanatics applauded the inauguration of a St. Bartholomew far more cruel than the first—a St. Bartholomew that lasted thirty years! Twenty million beings murdered, tortured, or proscribed, innumerable families plunged into misery and despair, commerce ruined, fields untilled, a frightful depravation of morals; so many evils and tears, so much blood, were counted as nothing. Cannot we imagine we see a monomaniac smiling over the corpses of his victims?

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPTS TO SUBJUGATE NORTHERN AND WESTERN GERMANY—WALLENSTEIN.

BUT it was not enough for Maximilian and Ferdinand to have spread Catholicism over their states like a desolating pestilence; they wished to produce the same destruction, heap up ruins, cause the same sufferings, and compel by torture the same abjurations through the whole of Germany. The gloomy converters forgot the gentle and calm countenance of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the summit of Calvary, for they were animated by the spirit of intolerance. Their aggressive zeal placed them in opposition to the laws of the empire, voted by the Diet of Augsburg, and sanctioned by Charles V.; but the champions of the Holy Father do not look into matters so closely!

While Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria underwent the furies of a pitiless reaction, the Catholic league, inspired and commanded by Maximilian of Bavaria, was annihilating the last strength of the Protestants, and putting

their generals to flight. His most skilful captain, the celebrated Tilly, defeated, in 1622, the Duke of Brunswick on the Maine and the Margrave of Baden on the Neckar; and he occupied the Palatinate, the hereditary domain of the ambitious and incapable Frederick V. Mansfeldt, no longer able to hold out against him, at length proceeded to Holland, in order to serve the Reformation against Spain. The hour seemed at hand when the German empire would repose after its long troubles, and its fields verdure again beneath the beneficent breath of a general peace. But the Catholic princes entertained other designs: the emperor wished to restore to the orthodox clergy the episcopal possessions in the north and west, secularised for so many years by the Lutherans, and make his sovereign will and the doctrines of the Jesuits arbiters of the whole of Germany. Tilly, consequently, received orders not to leave his position, whence he menaced the Reformed states. The Duke of Brunswick, having taken up arms once more, suffered another defeat at Stadtloo, in the province of Munster. The cause of free inquiry seemed definitively lost in Germany, and the black bands of Rome were already preparing their banners to invade the territory of the heretics to the monotonous sound of their chants.

The Lutheran princes were aroused by their perilous situation, and thought it madness to await, motionless, the storm growling in the distance. After demanding the recal of Tilly, and obtaining no satisfaction, they prepared for the combat. As chief of the Protestant Union, they chose the King of Denmark, a German sovereign through the duchy of Holstein. Christian accepted the

direction of the contest, and promised valuable succours; England and Holland were to support the Lutherans with men, and France send them subsidies. The clouds grew denser on the horizon; war was inevitable.

Up to this time only the Catholic league had brandished the sword; alone it had reduced Bohemia, terrified Northern Germany, and routed Mansfeldt. The emperor profited by its victories, and washed his hands at his ease in the blood of the vanquished. This inferior position could not satisfy either his pride or his ambition; he aspired to create a military force, and send into the field an Austrian army. A gloomy personage offered him the gratuitous realisation of his wishes.

This man was also a pupil of the Jesuits. Born on the 15th of September, 1583, of Protestant parents, who had, indeed, been Utraquists through several generations, Wallenstein lost his mother in 1593, his father in 1595. His uncle, Albert Slawata, at first sent him to Hussite schools; but another uncle, John of Ricam, placed him in the college founded at Ollmütz by the Jesuits, of whom he was a devoted admirer. Father Pachta undertook the conversion of the young heretic, and naturally succeeded easily with an inexperienced mind incapable of resistance. His masters did not spare their pains, for it was an important conquest for the order of Loyola. The Jesuits at that period were educating an entire generation of ambitious and pitiless murderers. They had prepared for the struggle Maximilian, Tilly, and Ferdinand. Wallenstein was an equally terrible war machine, and those who had completed it trembled more than once at their handiwork,

and, in their terror, at length destroyed it with their own hands.

The future general soon displayed that resolution and those military talents which were eventually to alarm the entire political world of Europe. After travelling through France, Italy, England, and Holland, to complete his education, he went to Hungary and fought against the Turks, under Rudolph II. He aided Ferdinand II. against the Venetians, and went through the Bohemian campaign; after which he fought against Bethlen Gabor. Created in succession baron, count, duke, and prince, he possessed, in 1625, enormous wealth and extraordinary popularity.

Ferdinand ordered him to enrol twenty thousand men. "That is not enough," Wallenstein replied; "forty or fifty thousand, if you please. An army of that strength will support itself."

The prince entered into his views, and gave him unlimited authority over the troops, with the right of appointing to all the military charges.

A few months later Friedland had realised his promise, and the greatest personages of the empire might be seen among the volunteers collected around him. He commenced, in the name of the Church and the Pope, that inhuman war, which violated every religious principle, all moral and civil laws.

His plan was to support his army at the expense of the population, friendly or hostile, Reformed or Catholic. In the Lutheran provinces the differences of opinions served as the excuse; in right-minded countries he pleaded

necessity. The whole of Germany was in this way exposed to pillage. As he had enrolled under his banner adventurers and mercenaries of every faith, some found a delight in oppressing the heretics, while others had no scruples with the orthodox. Devastating the country, ruining citizens and cultivators, they only left in their track famine, indigence, and death. A thousand complaints ascended even to the emperor's throne: but Ferdinand required this savage army, and remained deaf as Destiny.

The Duke of Friedland exerted a prodigious ascendancy over all around him, which originated from several causes. Singular chances had accumulated in his hands a royal fortune. During his youth, an extremely rich old widow, Lucretia of Landeck, fell in love with him to such an extent that she gave him a philter which nearly killed him. Wallenstein married her, and was soon master of her fortune. After the submission of Bohemia, he bought, at an absurdly low price, sixty-seven estates, valued at eight million florins, but really worth very much more. Ferdinand gave him, in addition to his other possessions, the duchy of Friedland, containing nine towns, fifty-seven castles, and villages. He thus became the richest landed proprietor in Bohemia, with the exception of the emperor. A second marriage increased his wealth, and the arbitrary taxes he raised on people, both friendly and hostile, produced him immense sums. He lent money to the court, and the lordship of Priebus, the duchy of Sagan, in Silesia, and the duchy of Mecklenburg, paid the imperial debt. The general annually received six million florins,

paid him by the bankers of Amsterdam and Venice, his vassals and farmers.

Wallenstein's immense riches, his profound reserve and theatrical manners, were the principal means he employed to exalt the imagination of the masses. He always appeared in public surrounded by extraordinary pomp, and allowed all those attached to his house to share in his luxury. His officers lived sumptuously at his table, where never less than one hundred dishes were served. As he rewarded with excessive liberality, not only the multitude but the greatest personages were dazzled by this Asiatic splendour.

Six gates gave entrance to his palace at Prague, to make room for which he had pulled down one hundred houses. Similar châteaux were erected by his orders on all his numerous estates. Twenty-four chamberlains, sprung from the most noble families, disputed the honour of serving him, and some sent back the golden key, emblem of their grade, to the emperor, in order that they might wait on Wallenstein. He educated sixty pages, dressed in blue velvet and gold, to whom he gave the first masters; fifty Trabants guarded his ante-chamber night and day; six barons and the same number of chevaliers were constantly within call to bear his orders. His maître d'hôtel was a person of distinction. A thousand persons usually formed his household, and above one thousand horses filled his stables, where they fed from marble mangers. When he set out on his travels, a hundred carriages, drawn by four or six horses, conveyed his servants and baggage; sixty carriages and fifty led horses

carried the people of his suite; ten trumpeters with silver bugles preceded the procession. The richness of his liveries, the pomp of his equipages, and the decoration of his apartments, were in harmony with all the rest. In a hall of his palace at Prague he had himself painted in a triumphal car, with a wreath of laurels round his head, and a star above him.

Gustavus Adolphus, who had but a poor opinion of his talents, called him a madman, but he was a profound politician. He knew how to stimulate the passions of his fellow-men, and attach them to him for life and death. He feigned to be ignorant of the excesses committed by his troops, from whom he only asked respect for discipline. Joy and pleasure presided in his camp: he suffered a multitude of servants, ostlers, musicians, jugglers, and courtesans to assemble there; beneath the walls of Nüremberg his army maintained fifteen thousand women of bad character. This Catholic chief only detested the priests, and would not allow one of that race among his troops. In truth, the latter might sooner have been regarded as the emissaries of Satan than as the champions of Heaven.

Any volunteer, without fear or scruples, was welcome to his banners, but the troops he preferred were the light cavalry, the Croats, in their red mantles, and the greedy and intrepid Cossacks of the Don. His penetrating eye detected men of talent at a glance, drew them from the crowd, and raised them rapidly: the lowest trooper could gain his commission. Any one who displayed military boldness received public thanks; any brilliant action gained the performer immediate promotion and a generous

present, for Wallenstein never gave less than one hundred thalers. All he demanded from his troops was imperturbable courage and blind obedience. Severe punishments followed on the slightest infraction of discipline: cowards were put to death, and at the slightest sign of insubordination he uttered the irrevocable sentence, "Hang the brute!" Despising the human race, like many haughty men do who are far from being his superiors, he only saw in men the instruments of his designs, and treated them consistently. Before attacking him in his camp near Nüremberg, Gustavus Adolphus sent to propose to him that the conquered should be spared, but the Austrian general brutally replied, "My soldiers must conquer or burst!"

Wallenstein's appearance was enough in itself to inspire fear and respect. His tall, thin figure, his haughty attitude, the stern expression of his pale face, his wide forehead, that seemed formed to command, his black hair, close shorn and harsh, his little dark eyes, in which the flame of authority shone, his haughty and suspicious look, his thick moustaches and tufted beard, produced, at the first glance, a startling sensation. His usual dress consisted of a justaucorps of elk-skin, covered by a white doublet and cloak; round his neck he wore a Spanish ruff, in his hat fluttered a large red plume, while scarlet pantaloons and boots of Cordovan leather, carefully padded on account of the gout, completed his ordinary attire.

While his army devoted itself to pleasure, the deepest silence reigned around the general. He could not endure the rumbling of carts, loud conversations, or even simple

sounds. One of his chamberlains was hanged for waking him without orders, and an officer secretly put to death because his spurs had clanked when he came to the general. His servants glided about the rooms like phantoms, and a dozen patrols incessantly moved round his tent or palace to maintain perpetual tranquillity. Chairs were also stretched across the streets, in order to guard him against any sound. Wallenstein was ever absorbed in himself, ever engaged with his plans and designs. He was never seen to smile, and his pride rendered him inaccessible to sensual pleasures. His only fanaticism was ambition.

This strange chief meditated and acted incessantly, only taking counsel of himself, and disdaining strange advice and inspirations. When he gave any orders or explanations, he could not bear to be looked at curiously; when he crossed the camp, the soldiers were obliged to pretend that they did not see him. Yet they suffered from an involuntary shudder when they saw him pass like a supernatural being. There was something about him mysterious, solemn, and awe-inspiring. He walked along, surrounded by this magic influence, like a saddening halo. His troops firmly believed that he was in communion with the spirits of darkness, that the stars had no secrets from him, that the crowing of cocks or the barking of dogs never reached his ear, that bullets, sabres, and lances could not wound him, for he possessed a talisman that rendered him Master of Fortune. They followed him as a personification of Fate.

Though champion of Rome against the innovators, the gloomy captain only put faith in the dreams of the occult

sciences. While a youth, he was accompanied on his travels by the mathematician and astronomer Verdungas, who taught him to read the stars. He also resided for some time at Padua, in order to learn from another professor. The rooms of his palace at Prague were covered with emblems of divination and allegorical figures. His ambition led him to the desire of penetrating the secrets of the future; the Italian astrologer Seni lived beneath his roof, and the visionary couple frequently passed the night in chimerical studies. Never did Wallenstein set out on a new enterprise till he had consulted the luminous Pythonesses of the firmament, for these dumb counsellors were to him Bible and Gospel. A peasant would not have behaved in a different way.

Beneath a calm aspect and pretended coldness he concealed violent passions, unlimited pride, and insatiable ambition. His orders were brief and peremptory; never was man more taciturn or chary of words; his shortest sentence, pronounced in an imposing voice, went straight to the object. He was obeyed with superstitious deference, and no one felt tempted to reply to him. He maintained perfect silence about himself and his affairs. As he was master of dissimulation, no one could penetrate his designs or foresee his resolution, and he discussed the most important negotiations without writing a line. This continual reserve and unchanging mystery augmented his power, and allowed him to gain his object in the dark. But, while skilfully disguising his own intentions, he spared nothing to discover those of others. Like Eugene and Marlborough at a later date, he kept a large number

of spies, whom he paid richly, and who found means to read persons' heart-thoughts.

His self-love led him into various caprices. George Zriny, Ban of the Croats, said to him one day, on bringing in the head of a Mussulman of distinction whom he had himself decapitated, "That is how the emperor's enemies should be treated." "I have seen many heads cut off," Wallenstein replied, "but never cut off a single one with my own hands." And some time after he had the Croat chief poisoned at a banquet. Though men's lives were valueless in his sight, the hangman's office disgusted him.

Far from diminishing with time the oppression that weighed so heavily on Germany, the terrible captain augmented it daily, and constantly increased his army. It soon attained the number of one hundred thousand men, while, in 1629, one hundred and fifty thousand ruffians stood at his beck and call.

The insults increased with the number of his soldiers. Terror and the prestige of his marvellous fortune rendered the desolated peoples dumb for a season; but when the general, who was esteemed invincible, besieged Stralsund in vain, and lost there no less than twelve thousand men, this check imbued the victims with courage, and his intolerable oppression was once more denounced to the emperor. In spite of the universal distress, the hunger that tortured millions of men, and literally destroyed thousands, his troops lived in abundance and profusion. He himself displayed extraordinary luxury, which his generals and officers imitated in proportion to their rank. The lowest captain fared more sumptuously than the

Duke of Pomerania and the other princes, whose domains were occupied by the imperial army. Many villagers and rustics put themselves to death, in order to escape from their misery; in Silesia, where Wallenstein had seized on all the grain, parents murdered their children to save the food they would have eaten. Brandenburg estimated at twenty million florins the loss sustained by his tyrannical imposts and his unbridled hordes; Hesse Cassel valued it at seven millions.

We have testimony of the highest value as to the manner in which his troops behaved on the march and in cantonments. It is a letter addressed by the Archduke Leopold to his brother Ferdinand II. Wallenstein had sent off a division of twenty thousand men to support in Italy the claims of the Habsburgs on the marquisate of Mantua. When this army approached Tyrol, then governed by the grand-duke, the latter could no longer restrain his indignation: "Your majesty cannot form an idea of the devastation produced by these troops on their march. I have seen war carried on for several years, but though it cannot go on without injury, I assure your imperial majesty that nothing like this ever before occurred in my presence. The officers have it in their power to check it; but the soldiers burn, violate, massacre, cut off noses and ears, break windows and stoves, torture the poor, and plunder their resources. I know that persons will try to deceive you as to these abominations, but I swear that I tell you nothing but what is strictly true: many electors and princes could bear the same testimony as mine. You should believe a faithful and loyal brother sooner than persons interested in deluding you, who, to

enrich themselves, spare neither the sweat nor the blood of the people. I could name to you many superior officers, formerly very poorly dressed, who now possess at least three or four hundred thousand florins in cash, which they have not taken from the enemy, but extorted from the Catholic subjects of the electors and princes. Think how they will treat Italy, a country abounding in wealth! The majority of the soldiers, even of the officers, are Lutherans and Calvinists. May the Lord protect the convents, so numerous in that country. A word of warning on your part to the Duke of Friedland would do no harm."

But Wallenstein cared as little for remonstrances as he did for moral precepts and Christian maxims. In 1629, the Pope, having joined Bavaria and France in a league against Ferdinand, whose power alarmed them, the bold adventurer proposed to the emperor to march on Rome. "That city has not been pillaged for a century," he said, "and must now be much richer."

The war, then, commenced on behalf of religion, which cannot exclude morality, had soon annihilated piety as well as morality. Impudence on one side, on the other vain ceremonials and trembling dissimulation, had been substituted for them. Unbounded hypocrisy put a mask on every face, falsified all feelings, vilified all characters. Never had corruption been more audacious, vices more horrible, cruelty more pitiless—never had such executions, pillage, torture, been witnessed—never had so much blood and so many tears been shed. In the hearts of the people neither love of justice, shame, compassion, nor real faith resided. They fought, they devoured one another like

wild beasts, and human nature had been so debased under the pretence of extirpating heresy, that the peoples wallowed in the mire, seeking, like brutes, the satisfaction of their material wants, and no longer remembering that God in whose name the dominion of crime had been so enlarged!

CHAPTER V.

THE DESOLATION PRODUCED IN GERMANY BY THE AUSTRIANS—EFFECTS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

In 1629, Germany, devastated for eleven years by war, persecution, and plunder, had one gleam of hope. The King of Denmark, after experiencing several defeats, had been compelled to request peace, and had obtained very fair conditions. Mansfeldt and the Duke of Brunswick were dead; and the other Lutheran princes could no longer keep the field. The triumphant emperor had only to say one word, and restore calmness and happy days to his unhappy country. Instead of this, he made the clouds that veiled the sun from it still denser, and overwhelmed it with fresh misfortunes. On the 6th of March, 1629, appeared the famous "Edict of Restitution." This decree ordered the immediate restoration to the Catholic clergy of all the rights and property they had lost since the treaty of Passau in 1552; that is to say, during an interval of seventy-seven years.

In the number of domains reclaimed were two arch-

bishoprics, those of Magdeburg and Bremen, twelve bishoprics, a multitude of monasteries with their territorial possessions, and a large number of opulent cities. It was a coup d'état as furious as if the French were now to be asked to restore the clerical property seized during the Revolution, and two savage armies were held in readiness to carry out this terrible sentence. Landsknechts and Trabants uttered shouts of joy; they scented a new prey, and calculated on renewed saturnalia.

As well-regulated charity always begins at home, the emperor divided among his family the most important of the domains reclaimed. His second son, Leopold William, already nominated Bishop of Strasburg, Passau, Breslau, and Ollmütz, obtained as his share the bishopric of Halberstadt, and the archiepiscopates of Magdeburg and Bremen. He was a lad of fifteen.

The same unscrupulousness was displayed with reference to the monasteries; the Jesuits seized on all the old property of the Benedictines, Augustines, and other religious orders. They did not trouble themselves to ask who had been the original holders.

In all the free cities, soldiers restored by force the mediæval form of worship, and the absolute authority of Rome. Augsburg was a delicious prey for the Ultramontane prince, for the famous Confession of Germanic Protestantism had been drawn up there, and peace signed with the Lutherans. An orthodox bishop was triumphantly installed, while all the heretic churches were closed.

But secular property did not escape the greed of the reactionary party. The system of confiscation invaded

Germany. Any noble who had borne arms for Frederick V., or incurred the chances of war with Mansfeldt, the Duke of Brunswick, or the King of Denmark, was stripped of everything he possessed.

Under the pretence of carrying out the imperial decree, the troops of the League and Ferdinand were permanently quartered in the heterodox provinces, which they ravaged and overwhelmed with arbitrary taxation. If the inhabitants complained, they were answered with contempt or irony. Then was announced the harsh maxim of the Habsburgs: "The emperor would rather see beggars than heretics in Germany."

All the Lutheran princes were compelled to submit, and sanction the Edict of Restitution against their will.

The cause of the Reformation seemed eternally ruined in the country of Luther and Œcolampadius; but the genius of humanity, the holy cause of progress, acquired a defender near the Pole among a nation hitherto isolated, which had never before taken part in European quarrels, and was regarded as of no importance. Gustavus Adolphus landed on the shores of the Baltic with a handful of intrepid soldiers, and the situation of Germany soon changed as if by magic.

Only one city, Magdeburg, had dared to withstand the crowned sexton, who wished, as it seemed, to entomb an entire nation. It had already displayed invincible heroism in the previous century; and this time, too, Wallenstein besieged it in vain during seven months. But the Catholics were resolved on quelling its courage; it had been distinguished from the outset by its zeal for the Reformation, and had been the first enthusiastically to greet the King

of Sweden as the saviour of Protestantism. Not only did it exhort him to march on the Elbe, and promised to open its gates to him, but it also recruited volunteers to aid the good cause. The Catholics swore to stifle this Lutheran ardour in blood, and during the winter of 1630, Pappenheim, the most impetuous of the imperial captains, led ten thousand men beneath the walls of Magdeburg. Gustavus sent the citizens a brave German officer, Dietrich of Falkenberg, to take the necessary measures for the defence of the city. Dietrich disguised himself as a fisherman, and passed through Pappenheim's camp. Guided and stimulated by him, the inhabitants foiled all the efforts of the implacable and crafty general. Tilly, therefore, came up in March, 1631, to press the siege with 30,000 men. But the citizens were not to be intimidated; they even constructed outworks, and gave two redoubts sarcastic names: one was called Mock Tilly, the other Mock Pappenheim.

But the two captains had superior forces at their command, and, despite the courage of the Protestants, it was soon seen that only the troops and military genius of Gustavus Adolphus could save them. The citizens counted on his assistance, for three days' march could bring him beneath their walls. Thus, when the Papists' artillery ceased to roar on the 19th of May, and the guns were withdrawn from the enemy's entrenchments, the besieged thought that their liberator was at hand.

This silence, on the contrary, announced their destruction, and the assault that was to be made on the following morning. Tilly sent them a trumpet summoning them to surrender, but they were so certain of the King of

Sweden being close at hand, that they kept the envoy till the next day. During the night the commander-in-chief summoned his staff: he wished to delay the attack, because the artillery had not yet made a practicable breach, but the impetuosity of Pappenheim, who voted for the escalade, carried the majority of votes. He knew that the citizens kept watch through the night, but retired to rest about daybreak. At four in the morning he had the scaling-ladders put up, and shortly after, in spite of renewed indecision on the part of Tilly, the soldiers penetrated into the city.

Falkenberg had just led the besiegers' envoy to the other end of the city with a negative reply. He ran up at the sound of the firing, but a ball laid him dead. Confused by this loss, and terrified by the impetuosity of the leaguers, the citizens formed the fatal decision of retiring to their houses and defending themselves there. The Catholics pursued them, and set fire to several parts of the city. The besieged fired out of the windows, while their wives hurled stones and articles of furniture on the enemy. Suddenly a sharp breeze spread the flames, which ran from house to house, from street to street. The fear that their prey would escape them drove the Imperialists to madness: men, women, and children were murdered, or driven back into the flames. Women were outraged in the sight of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their mothers. The Croats amused themselves by hurling children into the flames; while Tilly's dragoons transfixed nurslings to their mothers' breasts with their sabres. The murderers and their victims, the dying and the corpses, the destruction, the whirling smoke, the blood

that stained the ground, formed a scene so terrific that several captains could not endure the sight of it. They ran up to the general and implored him to put an end to the carnage.

"The soldier must have some compensation for his fatigue and danger," Tilly coolly replied, from his little white horse. "What would Pappenheim say if I listened to you? Come back in an hour, and we will see what is to be done."

The fire, however, had by this time spread through the entire city, and the victors were compelled to abandon their prey and retire to their camp. At ten at night, opulent Magdeburg was but a pile of ruins and ashes. The cathedral, the church of Our Lady, and some fishermen's huts, situated on the banks of the Elbe, had alone escaped the flames.

The next day Pappenheim wrote to Munich: "Magdeburg has lost its virginity. Yesterday, at nine in the morning, we took it by assault; we fought for four hours, captured the bishop, killed Falkenberg and all the soldiers and citizens who bore arms. When our soldiers' ferocity was exhausted, Divine wrath and justice finished their work. Fire broke out in many places, and several mines exploded: a few hours sufficed to reduce the city and all its riches to ashes. Everything buried in the ground or the cellars is lost. I estimate that more than twenty thousand beings have been sacrificed; never since the destruction of Jerusalem has such a catastrophe, or a more terrible Divine punishment, been witnessed. All our soldiers have become rich." On the 25th, Pappenheim wrote another letter to the emperor, in which are the

remarkable words: "In such an admirable victory, I and my faithful auxiliaries regretted that we had not as spectators your imperial majesty and august consort."

Out of thirty-one thousand inhabitants, only five thousand saved their lives. The general did not enter Magdeburg till the 23rd: more than six thousand corpses were thrown into the Elbe to clear a passage for him. The next day the cathedral was opened, and there were found in it three thousand persons who had spent three days there without food, in frightful agony, watching the flames that flashed through the windows of the church, while hunger gnawed at their vitals. Tilly ordered food to be given them. The nave of Our Lady's church contained fifty-three women who had been decapitated by the apostolical troops. On the 25th a Te Deum was held to celebrate this glorious triumph.*

Thus did Ferdinand's bigotry interpret the Gospel: but though all Germany groaned under the oppression, Bohemia suffered more than any other province in this hapless country. In addition to the frenzied decrees, and the sanguinary measures inflicted on it with indefatigable perseverance, the Catholic armies were continually encamped there. Tilly's Walloons and Wallenstein's Croats bled the nation at every pore. In a single day they destroyed all the provisions which had cost so much labour,

* The destruction of Magdeburg left terrible reminiscences in Germany: the gate through which Tilly entered is still walled up, and on the house of the town commandant the following sentence is legible: "Remember the 20th of May, 1631." (The author mentions that he has borrowed these details from an excellent Guide by M. Joanne, which is a perfect geographical and statistical treatise.)

and would have lasted for months. Vast districts became solitudes, and growing woods took the place of the crops.

Catholic historians themselves, devoted to the House of Austria, state that the starving population did not despise the refuse of the lay-stall, nor corpses suspended from gibbets; during the night a chain of soldiers had to be placed round the cemeteries to prevent freshly buried corpses being dug up; bands of starving people chased men, killed them like wild beasts, cut them up, and boiled them for food. Frequently the imperial troops would notice a body of men collected round a smoking fire of branches. If they ran up and dispersed them, they found they had been collected round a caldron in which human flesh was simmering.* The pretended piety of the House of Austria had obtained the grand result—produced the marvellous effect—of bringing men back to cannibalism!

Under such a fearful system, Bohemia lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. A register of 1529, in which the franchises of the old town of Prague are preserved; the Chronicle of Hagek, published in 1541; two MSS., one written in the fourteenth century, the other in 1510; and a memorial of the year 1475, tell us of the condition of the country prior to the battle of the White Mountain. Of these documents the most moderate raises the number of Bohemian parishes above thirty-one thousand. They must have attained this number when the reaction began to swing the axe. A few years later the cadaster contained less than eleven thousand. All the rest had disappeared. Never has one victory been so cruelly abused.

* Hormayr: Taschenbuch für die Vaterländische Geschichte. Jahrgang 1836, p. 300.

One act of justice must, however, be performed. The most terrible councillor, and most cruel servant of the imperial ambition, was destined to be punished, as so often happens, by the prince for whom he had violated all the rules of justice, all the principles of morality. Thus that logic of facts, called Providence, decrees it. Wallenstein was a villain, for only villains, whatever be the object they pursue, take such little heed of the lives, interests, and happiness of mankind; but his intellect was worth more than his heart, and he entertained great ideas. He proposed to carry out in Germany what Charles VII. and Louis XI. had commenced in France, and Richelieu terminated in the sweat of his brow: to debase all the nobles, all the lords, lay and spiritual, before the royal power. The various Germanic States, subjected to the authority of a single chief, would then have composed an immense and dangerous empire. Ferdinand II. would only have been the fictitious sovereign, governed by Wallenstein, as Louis XIII. was by his prime minister; he would have allowed the gloomy captain to exercise power in his name. Once master of Germany, he calculated on assembling an overwhelming force to drive the Muhammadans from Europe. He would then have become the arbiter of the world. What prince or monarch would have dared to oppose him? These vast projects were misapprehended by Schiller and the other old writers, through the want of proper documents. The portrait their pens have drawn of Friedland is vague and dull; the sinister general, even in the three plays that bear his name, does not possess that imposing grandeur he should have.

Too many obstacles prevented the realisation of these gigantic plans. Ferdinand, in the first place, had not sufficient intelligence to detect them in what the duke allowed him to see: he acted through bigotry rather than policy. In the second place, the Lutheran and orthodox princes were too powerful to disappear before one man. But Richelieu, the Pope, and the Jesuits were the chief instruments of his ruin. The cardinal saw through his designs, and guessed the European supremacy his ambition coveted: he would not allow France to be reduced to a state of vassaldom. The Ghibeline policy of Friedland alarmed the Holy See. Masters of the emperor, and governing Austria, domineering over Germany by the medium of this crowned automaton, the Jesuits defended their position, and would not let their docile creature loose. Wallenstein, who appreciated their strength, and disputed the sovereignty with them, cherished a profound hatred for them; and the most secret and dangerous of his dreams consisted in expelling them from Germany so soon as he was in a condition to do so.

In this struggle of giants Wallenstein succumbed. The cardinal supported the Reformers, sent Gustavus Adolphus into the field, and terrified the Catholic princes. Hounded on to Friedland at the Diet of Ratisbon, they stunned Ferdinand with their complaints. The Jesuits worked on the emperor's conscience, and raised scruples as to the extortion and barbarity by means of which the duke sustained his army. Father Joseph, sent by Richelieu, performed the manœuvres his master had entrusted to him, and the overthrow of Wallenstein was resolved on.

After twenty months' inaction necessity compelled the emperor to restore him his command, with authority more absolute than ever. He took up the tangled web of his intrigues once again, and renewed his ambitious projects. But the cardinal, the Pope, and the Jesuits kept their eyes upon him, and this time they considered it advisable to get rid of him for ever. One evening, then (February 25, 1634), the traitors who had accepted the mission of death were supping with the generals faithful to the dictator, on their invitation. A feigned letter from the Elector of Saxony was brought in, in which he repulsed imaginary propositions, hostile to the emperor, made by Friedland. "Long live the House of Austria! Long live Ferdinand!" the assassins shouted. And thirty-six Irish dragoons invaded the room, overturned the table, and rushed on the victims. In a few minutes, Wallenstein's partisans were all sabred or stabbed. The room was shut up, and Butler proceeded to invest the palace of the generalissimo.

It was nine in the evening. By a singular accident, a frightful tempest had burst out over the town of Eger, where the tragedy was performed. Heavy clouds veiled the sky, the wind coursed through the streets, and howled beneath the doors. A fine rain pattered against the windows. Devereux penetrated into Wallenstein's abode with a dozen Trabants. The duke had heard some noise—possibly the lamentation of the ladies bewailing their murdered husbands; he had opened his window, challenged the sentinel, and then seated himself in his dressing-gown at his table. All at once the assassin burst the door open, and rushed towards him, shouting: "Thy

hour has arrived, villain!" Friedland tried to reach the window and summon the guard; but Devereux barred the way, and struck him in the chest with his partizan. The duke, raising his arms, received the blow without uttering a word; he fell silently as he had lived, taking down into the grave those mysterious projects which history has at length discovered.

Assuredly, Wallenstein's accomplices, the instruments of his crimes and depredations, who worked on his account and their own, deserve neither pity nor sympathy. The House of Austria, however, through its excessive cruelty, contrived to render one among them interesting, General Schaffgotsch, military commandant of Silesia. Colloredo had him arrested and disarmed at Ohlau; his spurs were torn off, and his guardians overwhelmed him with outrages while taking him to Glatz, and thence to Ratisbon. When put to the torture, he endured the pain with extraordinary firmness, and insisted that he had not conspired. A sentence of death by the axe was recorded against him, but as the judges still hoped to force some confession from him, they asked the Aulic Council whether they could inflict on him once again the various stages of torture. "Without doubt," the gloomy council replied; "as strong evidence has proved his guilt and caused his sentence to death, he is no longer a man, but a slave of the question (servus pœnæ), an inert corpse (cadaver mortuum); he must be regarded and treated thus." During the second torture the unhappy man only uttered some incoherent words, and he was executed at Ratisbon on the 23rd of July, 1635.

At last, the most pitiless murderer that ever yet perse-

cuted the human race, Ferdinand II., died in his turn. He expired on the 15th of February, 1637, with signs of the deepest devotion, holding in his hand a lighted taper which his confessor handed to him. No remorse troubled his last moments. Twelve million human beings, at the least, had perished by his orders; but the glory and interest of the suffering and militant Church demanded the sacrifice. In a single expedition on the banks of the Danube the Cossacks plundered five hundred villages and exterminated the whole male population; the women and children, struck with terror, took refuge in the islands, where they died of hunger and despair. Ferdinand, the pious assassin, had always lived surrounded by priests and women. He was less than a fool—he was a mediocrity. His intellect only served to lead him astray, or lead him direct to crime.

His death did not end the war, nor was it of the slightest advantage to Germany. His eldest son, Ferdinand III., a sickly and obtuse prince, inherited his fanaticism and continued his work. The Immaculate Conception was his favourite dogma and chief topic of conversation. A special law, published in his reign, forbade the rank of doctor being granted any one who did not testify on oath to his belief in this mystic doctrine. During eleven more years Germany remained a battle-field, an accursed land, ruined and desolated by persecution. On the 24th of October, 1648, peace was at last signed with Sweden at Osnabrück, at Münster with France. The struggle terminated in the humiliation of Austria, the emancipation of the Catholic and Lutheran

princes, the dismemberment of the empire, and the formal recognition of the equality of all forms of worship.

The Jesuits alone attained the principal object of their ambition. Austria had become a fief of their order, and was governed by their general as suzerain.

When the heralds proceeded, trumpet in hand, to pronounce to the plundered towns and ruined peoples the signature of peace, they only saw scenes of desolation. It was no longer that fair country in which, thirty years previously, industrious cities, innumerable villages, and carefully cultivated plains flourished; where festal songs succeeded the murmurs of toil; where commerce, study, and the fine arts prospered. Nothing could be seen but ruined towns, whose last inhabitants were burning the woodwork of their wretched huts to keep up their fires; abandoned farms, funereal mounds, and scattered bones. Whole provinces had become deserts; here, a marsh, with its legion of reeds, its clouds of insects, and its feverish miasmata, had taken the place of the blessed crops; there, a rugged forest had gradually invaded the fields and vineyards, and effaced the roads. Germany seemed handed over as a prey to the wolves, the foxes, and the ravens.

Brigandage had attained frightful proportions: exasperated by their wrongs, crowds of men lived by murder and pillage. The disbanded soldiers supplied them with an example, and these bandits in uniform heightened the general distress. The Government was obliged to have recourse to exceptional measures, and invented passports, which were rendered necessary by the state of the country.

The Diet of Bohemia published in 1650 a characteristic edict. It ordered the citizens to give up their muskets and all offensive arms; whoever kept them after this prohibition would be proceeded against criminally. The 2nd article ordered the authorities to cut down the woods on either side the high roads for the distance of a pistol shot, and fell once a year all the shrubs, for assassinations were so numerous, and no one dared leave home! The other regulations equally deserve quotation:

"Art. 3. The brigands condemned to death will be executed without delay.

"Art. 4. Any peasant delivering up to the authorities a brigand, dead or alive, will receive half of what was found on the body. If he had nothing, the peasant would receive 600 groschen.

"Art. 5. Two agents will be stationed in all the towns and markets, to deliver passports to travellers, without which no one will be admitted.

"Art. 6. The authorities will keep a close watch on the foresters, vintagers, and herdsmen, lest they may commit crimes, or offer shelter to the brigands.

"Art. 7. Considering that the hawkers sell powder and lead to the bandits, and buy from them the objects they have plundered, hawking is in future forbidden, under penalty of confiscation and other punishments."

A decree of 1654 returns to this sad subject, and recommends that the woods along the high road should be cut down.*

* Rieger: Materialien zür Böhmischen Statistik; Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes.

A final circumstance will suffice to depict the condition of Germany at this period. The excessive despair had so ulcerated the hearts of the people, and turned them from all natural affections, that men abstained from their wives, and lived in gloomy and tragic chastity. In France, the Maréchal de Gassion was urged to renounce celibacy: "I esteem life so little," he replied, "that I do not care to share it with any one." All Bohemia, and, moreover, nearly the whole of Germany, seemed penetrated with a similar disgust during this frightful struggle. The Germanic race seemed resolved to die out, and not leave such boundless misery as a legacy for future generations. A whole nation desired to commit suicide. It was found necessary to exhort married people from the pulpit to make use of their rights, and not thwart the intentions of nature. Even more, the Franconian Diet, with the approval of the Archbishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, formed, on the 15th February, 1650, at Nüremberg, a legislative decision which allowed priests to marry, and authorised polygamy. I have the text of this singular document before me, and will translate it, as a proof of such importance as this must be communicated to the reader in its entirety:

"Art. 1. During an interval of ten years, reckoning from this day, no man will be admitted into a monastery who has not reached his sixtieth year.

"Art. 2. All priests and curates not belonging to a religious house or chapter, are bound to marry without delay.

"Art. 3. Any man is allowed to marry two wives; but

husbands are advised, and they will often be reminded of it from the pulpit, that if the fate of two persons is entrusted to them, they must in return behave discreetly and prudently, provide for them sufficiently in the first instance, and then take measures to prevent hatred springing up between them."

To such a state was Germany reduced! Like Bohemia, it ended by losing two-thirds of its population.* Supposing that it possessed thirty million of inhabitants at the beginning of the war (it now contains more than double), twenty millions perished by famine or a violent death. The barbarian hordes did not produce such disasters in the Roman empire.

And now, let any one upbraid the French for the excesses of '93! The Jesuits and Dominicans destroyed more victims than the whole of the revolutionary party since the beginning of the world.

The persecution organised by Ferdinand II., under the influence of the Jesuits, retarded civilisation for one hundred and fifty years beyond the Rhine. When it commenced its ravages, Germany possessed a brilliant school of painting, famous engravers, learned men, and a rising literature; when the reaction pulled down its scaffolds, and spiked its guns, all talent had disappeared like a dream; ignorance held out the hand to misery. Genius could not flourish again in this devastated land till the middle of the eighteenth century: the arts have only returned to their pristine vigour in our day. Thwarted and

* Kohlrausch: Deutsche Geschichte, p. 552.

arrested by France in their ambitious plans, the Jesuits transported their gloomy apparatus to that country, and avenged themselves by obtaining the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Dragonnades, and all that accompanied them, were only an imitation of their procedure in Austria.

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION INTO HUNGARY.

WHEN the Reformation, supported on the Gospels, contested the doctrines of the Roman Church, its principles aroused equal attention and gained as many partisans among the Magyars as among the Germans. It was like a dawn rising to every intellect after the gloomy night of the middle ages: it excited all the joy, and hopes, and activity of the morning hours. These first beams announced the sunlight—the light of that philosophy which had to be waited for a century longer.

Scarce had the first writings of Luther been published, than merchants and hawkers introduced them into the plains of Hungary, and the mountains of Transylvania. These startling works excited a great ferment, and converted many pious orators, who soon taught publicly the new doctrine. Michael Siklosi was the first to explain it from the pulpit to an Hungarian assembly. A Silesian named Ambrosius, and an ex-Dominican called George, initiated this preaching in Transylvania: both proclaimed

the regeneration of Christianity to the inhabitants of Hermannstadt. A great personage, Count Marcus Pemphlinger, an intelligent and experienced man, seconded them most actively, and spared neither pains nor influence in aiding them. Greater attention was granted them because the district was at feud with the Archbishop of Gran. The citizens defied the fanatic prelate: they carried all civil ecclesiastical causes before laic tribunals, and forced the pastors to do their duty, in spite of the interdict issued by the dean. Braving the authority of this clerical functionary, they expelled the curate of a suburban village, and put in his place a minister chosen by themselves. Even more, they annulled his jurisdiction, and prevented him punishing persons he considered reprehensible. To set the seal on their insubordination they refused to pay tithes.

The archbishop sent in a complaint to King Louis II.* By a severe decree, the prince commanded the inhabitants of Hermannstadt to respect the decision of the prelate, and execute all his orders. The citizens demanded a safe-conduct for their ministers, and sent them to Gran to plead their cause; but the ecclesiastical dignitary dying while this was going on, and his successor, a cardinal, having gone to the Conclave to elect a new pope, the affair was naturally suspended during his absence.

The Reformation, in the mean while, gained ground: Hermannstadt became a second Wittemberg. The Catholic

* Louis II., King of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded his father, Ladislaus VI., in 1516: he married, in 1521, Marie, sister of Charles V. Beaten at Mohacz, in 1526, by Soliman II., the prince was drowned in a marsh he attempted to cross.

ministers themselves confessed that the new doctrine was not more powerful in the town where Luther resided. The Diet ordered all Lutheran books to be confiscated and burnt in the public square, but these literary autos-da-fè did not suspend the progress of heresy. Violence was then summoned to the aid of the failing system, and the estates threatened every Lutheran with burning. But it was not possible to carry out such a law in a country covered with forests and intersected by marshes, where the proscripts could always escape from the soldiers, and justice was organised no better than the administration. The most useful decrees remained dead letters, hence the new sentence could not be carried out. The numbers of the Protestants continued to increase, and they soon found themselves so strong that they insulted the public ceremonies of the Ultramontane Church. At Buda, in the presence of the king, two speakers publicly defended the right of free inquiry: they were expelled from the city.

After the rout of Mohacz and the tragical end of the king, John Zapolya, his successor, banished all the Dissenters. But this decree could not be carried out in the midst of the struggle the Habsburgs had begun in order to instal themselves in Hungary. Louis II. had married the intellectual Mary of Austria, sister of Charles V. and Ferdinand I. The latter at the age of eighteen married the sister of Louis II., Anne Jagellon, whom he fervently loved. Profiting by this double relationship, he aspired to the throne of Hungary as soon as the death of his brother-in-law left a vacancy. "As the Hungarian monarchy, the bulwark of Christian Europe, is falling into dissolution," he wrote to his sister, "I implore you, on behalf of

my own states, threatened by an Ottoman invasion, to employ all the means in your power to gain me the crown of St. Stephen." The widow cleverly supported her brother's projects, and, in the same year she lost her husband, the Diet of Presburg offered the sovereign authority to the young archduke. But John Zapolya was not inclined to resign it, and hence arose a civil war, complicated by the perpetual irruptions of the Mussulmans. The hostilities lasted many years, during which the pretenders had graver cares than those of religion. The new doctrine being neither disturbed nor watched, gained ground rapidly, and even ventured on reprisals. Thus, during the first campaign, Zapolya having been defeated and forced to fly, the Lutherans avenged themselves on their persecutors. Finding themselves in a majority, as at Hermannstadt, they gave the Catholics three days to embrace their opinions or quit the country.

The struggle went on in this way with varying fortune, though generally favourable to the enemies of Papacy. The greatest persons declared themselves in turn against the Bishops of Rome, built Lutheran churches, opened schools, and sent their sons to study at Wittemberg, where the university was becoming renowned. The Palatine Nadasty was among these important recruits.* He so favoured the adversaries of the Roman Church that Germany turned its attention to him. Melancthon sent him a young Croatian preacher, vowed to the liberation of the human mind, and recommended him to utilise his apostolic

* The *palatine* was an official elected by the Diet to carry out, with the aid of a council, the laws voted by the National Assembly. Each comitatus of Hungary had, in addition, a special palatine.

fervour. Nadasty had a private printing-office where the New Testament, in Hungarian, translated by John Sylvester, was brought out. At length Protestantism made such progress in Hungary that the Catholic priests deserted their altars and joined its ranks. The Bishops of Neutra and Weszprin laid aside rochet and mitre to preach the Christian faith in its primitive purity.

Lutheranism at first sought alone to shake the empire of Rome in distant countries. Several deputations consulted the monk of Eisenach on doubtful points; but so soon as Calvin had arranged his system, he gained numerous proselytes on the banks of the Theiss and the Danube.

In the rear of these two great doctrines which led the way, came a multitude of less powerful sects: Anabaptists, Mennonites, Zwinglians, and Socinians. Attacked simultaneously by the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, they all succumbed save the last. The theory of Socinus possessed special import, for it announced long beforehand the deism of the eighteenth century, and the profession of faith of the Savoyard Vicar. This energetic thinker denied the Trinity (whence his disciples derive the name of Unitarians), transubstantiation, original sin, and the existence of hell: he did not recognise the divinity of Jesus, and only saw in the mysteries symbols more or less obscure. No heresiarch, in his time, made so much progress towards modern ideas.

Ferdinand I., as we have said, could not at first oppose the progress of the new doctrines. Though a sincere Catholic, he was at the same time a wise and moderate prince. Everywhere the odium theologicum calmed

down. Ultramontanes and Reformers lived in peace and intermarried, until the foundation of the Order of Jesuits, in 1540, revived discord. These troops of Hades were destined to produce in Germany such misfortunes, that they destroy, to a certain extent, the morality of history, as they raise a doubt as to the principles assumed to govern the fate of nations.

They glided into the Austrian provinces with an humble and modest air: they presented themselves as physicians, and possessed, according to their statement, a marvellous specific in quinquina, long known as Jesuits' powder. As the plague had broken out, this aided their introduction. They also acted as professors, and gave private lessons. Their position was at first so humble that they had no house to live in, and resided at Vienna with the Dominicans. But their chief, Father Bobadilla, had the address to reach the emperor and make him kneel before him in the confessional. Their condition changed from this moment, as did their attitude. In 1551 they built their first Austrian college on the site of the present War Ministry at Vienna. Loyola, who was still living, sent them eleven Jesuits by the wish of Ferdinand and the orders of the Holy See. In 1556 they built the houses of Ingolstadt and Cologne, whence they soon swarmed like greedy wasps. Austria, Bavaria, Tyrol, Franconia, Suabia, the valley of the Rhine, and Bohemia, especially tempted their covetousness and offered them a more convenient access.

They soon induced their patron, Ferdinand, to publish some edicts, and take certain measures intended to arrest the progress of schism, and to regain him his old posses-

sions. But the lords charged with the execution of these decrees had either adopted the Evangelical principles, or were only able to suppress the Reformation in their own domains. If held in check in some places for a time, it prospered everywhere else; the fiefs of these princes formed, as it were, scattered clearings. They, too, soon grew weary of rigour, and the imperial orders fell into desuetude.

Maximilian II. allowed the Catholics and Lutherans to fight it out, according to their respective strength, without favouring either party. The religious controversies only annoyed him; nearly all his generals openly evinced their contempt for Papacy and their enthusiasm for the new faith. One of his captains, Schwendi, accepted the presidency of an heretical synod, and had no cause to regret it. Horvath, prior of Zips, who had turned Lutheran, did not hesitate to appoint Maximilian guardian of his children. So great was the prince's toleration, that a Lutheran doctor, named Pfauser, preached a long time at court, and did not leave off writing to him after he had gone elsewhere to perform his duties.

When Rudolph II. mounted the throne, the Reformed Church was so well established in the provinces held by the Muhammadans, that the ministers hoped soon to convert the infidels. The Turks did not interfere in the Christian disputes; provided the latter paid their tribute regularly, they cared little about their opinion and faith. The word of the Prophet was sufficient for them. In those provinces belonging to Germany, nine hundred parishes were Lutheran, a still larger number Calvinist; sixteen governors, nearly all digni-

taries of the kingdom, had abjured the old dogma. The moment could be almost predicted when all Hungary would be Protestant.

Stephen Bathory, King elect of Poland, and Prince of Transylvania, judged that new measures were necessary to limit the progress of the Reformation. He turned his eyes on Loyola's black band, who inspired the Ultramontanes with great confidence. Summoned to Transylvania, the Jesuits installed themselves in the deserted abbey of Kollos-Monostra, given to their order with all the estates depending from it, and founded another house in the town of Karlburg. The prince desired them to apply themselves solely to the education of youth, and, although Protestant, the majority of the Diet, influenced by him, ratified this measure. During his reign and that of his brother Christopher, the champions of Catholicism and the Reformers seemed to be on excellent terms. The Jesuits went about humbly, their eyes fixed on the ground; the care of their pupils apparently absorbed all their time and intellect: the foxes had put on the sheep's skin. But the Protestants were not deceived as to their machinations; they detested them cordially, and only spared them through regard for two princes of unusual merit. After the death of these illustrious chiefs, the Dissenters no longer concealed their aversion; the Jesuits were expelled, then recalled at the end of five years, but banished again by the Socinian Moses Szekely. But they were not discouraged, and ever found means to slip in again.

They entered Hungary Proper for the first time in 1561, under the auspices of the Archbishop Olahy, and

with the approval of the governor. At first there were only four priests and a lay-brother, and important revenues were granted them. They settled in the town of Tyrnau, where they began building a college; but before it was finished, a terrible conflagration destroyed a part of the town; the flames devoured the new building, and the Jesuits had not the means to repair the disaster. Francis Borgia, general of the order, regarding the catastrophe as a warning from Heaven, ordered the brethren to quit Hungary.*

Thirteen years elapsed before any member of the sinister community was seen again; but, in 1579, George Drascovitz, Bishop of Raab, summoned a very clever preacher of the congregation from Vienna. He obtained such decided success in the pulpit, and made so many conversions, that, at the end of seven years, his patron, who had become cardinal, begged the Emperor Rudolph to establish the Jesuits in Hungary, in order to sustain the orthodox faith, and terrify its adversaries. The prince, who was half mad, gave his consent; the abbey of Thurocs was assigned them as a residence, and a decree handed over to them the country of Matthias Corvinus and John Hunyadi. They had, at the outset, great difficulties to overcome, and heavy struggles to sustain; but, by skill and perseverance, they consolidated their position, and gained ground daily.

Such was the religious situation of Hungary when the emperor desired to bring it back suddenly to the Catholic faith, and change, as if by a miracle, the ideas of an entire

* Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn und ihrer Landsassen, vol. i. p. 520.

people. The adversaries of Rome based their hopes on the Diet of Presburg, which was to assemble shortly under the presidency of the Archduke Matthias. Rudolph also calculated on the decisions of this assembly; but the archduke, who was favourable to the Protestants, directed the meetings in such a way, that no measure was adopted affecting religious matters. He even listened to the complaints of the Dissenters, with the intention of pleading their cause with the sovereign. The gloomy emperor fell into a violent passion: twenty-one articles had been voted by the Diet, and treating the Magyar constitution as a dead letter, Rudolph added a twenty-second article to the procès-verbal of the deliberations. In this, the complaints of the Protestants were declared frivolous and unjustifiable, their claims null and non proven, their conduct during the debates irregular and scandalous. He reproached them with having formed secret intrigues with the free cities of the empire, and confirmed all the laws promulgated in favour of the Ultramontane doctrine. Finally, he ordered all those to be punished who, under any pretext, mixed up religious dissent with political questions.

This act of usurpation and despotism aroused general indignation in Hungary. A number of magnates declared that they refused obedience to the emperor and his delegates, unless he revoked the twenty-second clause. But the prince would not recal an unjust decision, for men feel a pride in not avowing their faults, or repairing their wrongs. A terrible insurrection soon broke out and found a leader in Stephen Bocskai, who, by a single manifesto, aroused nobles and people. The national banner

floated over the castles of the lords, the peasants armed in the villages, and numerous bands marched to Szerenes, where a grand assembly was convened. In the first place Lutherans and Calvinists were freed from all fetters, and the war broke out. The campaign of the Hungarian army resembled a triumphant march. Abandoned by the imperial legions, Transylvania declared itself on behalf of Prince Bocskai; the Hungarian fortresses, badly provisioned and defended, fell into his hands; the feeble detachments of imperial troops that dared the chances of the field, could not stand against the charge of their impetuous enemy. All the Magyar provinces not occupied by the Turks soon obeyed the eminent captain chosen by the Reformers. One general alone, Basta, defended the town of Gran against the Islamites who aided the malcontents. While the chief of the insurgents was encamped before Buda, the grand seignior sent him a crown of gold, a sword of honour, and a banner, saluting him as King of Hungary; but he had the prudence never to assume that title.

Without an army, without faithful servants, money or moral force, the emperor was unable to hold head against the Hungarians; necessity, the queen of the world, forced him to enter into negotiations with them. He did so with bad grace, as we may suppose, and the capitulation dragged on till 1605. A compact was then concluded by which Lutherans and Calvinists could profess their religion freely; the churches destroyed during the war would be rebuilt, the ecclesiastical tribunals closely watched by the Diet, and kept within the limits of their jurisdiction. Bocskai received as hereditary fiefs Tran-

sylvania, and the counties of Bihas, Zarand, Szolnok, and Marmaros, while three other counties, and the lordship and castle of Tokay, were given him for life.

The Archduke Matthias, who had conducted the negotiations and employed the Austrians and Magyars to dethrone his brother, could not be severe against the partisans of the Reformation, nor did he desire to be so. Protestantism, already so widely spread in Hungary, daily effected conversions.

At last, the Tiberius of Christianity, Ferdinand II., ascended the imperial throne. The Thirty Years' War had begun, and the Hungarians sided with the Bohemians. When the monarch returned from his coronation at Frankfort, he learned that the Magyars, under the guidance of their prince, Bethlen Gabor, were advancing on his hereditary states. They reached the walls of Vienna, and the prodigious good fortune of the Habsburgs only saved the dynasty, as well as the city. There is not the slightest doubt but that the crowned inquisitor felt the deepest rancour at this attempt, but he would not at that time satisfy his hatred or restore the authority of the Pope in Hungary. Thrice did Bethlen Gabor declare war, and thrice was he compelled to make peace with him—in 1622, 1624, and 1628. From that period, however, a general plan of conversion and subjugation by treachery and violence was arranged in Vienna.

CHAPTER VII.

PROJECTS FOR THE DEGRADATION OF HUNGARY—THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD I.

TOWARDS the close of 1626, several persons assembled at the Eggenberg Palace in Vienna, and deliberated on a grave question. Round the table were Ferdinand II., the implacable devotee; Eggenberg, his prime minister, whom gout and colic nearly confined to his bedroom, so that the emperor visited him by a secret passage; Cardinal Dietrichstein, one of the most ardent enemies of Protestantism; Count Ognate, ambassador of Spain, or, to speak more correctly, secret envoy from Madrid; the envoy of Florence, the privy councillor Harrack; and, lastly, the gloomy Wallenstein, with some officers of high rank. The problem to be resolved was, what means would best suppress the Reformation in Hungary. After various opinions had been given, the Spanish ambassador rose, and, with a majestic air, uttered these infamous words:

"In order to extirpate the damnable heresy, root and

branch, in Hungary, my august master offers through me to supply, this year and as soon as desired, forty thousand chosen men, perfectly equipped, and pledges himself to support them for forty years. Adding to these the Polish Cossacks, the government will be in a position to exterminate this perfidious race, so often guilty of high treason, so frequently culpable of rebellion against the imperial power, and Austria will henceforth be saved from the scourge of their invasions.

"You tell me that the Hungarians are a courageous people, used to arms, and dangerous through their light cavalry; and that Turkey, their neighbour, can incessantly give them assistance. I reply, that the Muhammadans must be bought, rendered an object of suspicion to Bethlen Gabor, and a propitious peace concluded with the grand seignior. You will then only have to imitate the court of Spain, and employ the means by which she gains absolute power: send to this barbarous nation foreign governors, who will impose on them new and arbitrary laws, and leave them no resource. Oppress them in a thousand different ways; if they complain to the court of Vienna, reply that his majesty was utterly ignorant of these vexations, and hears them with extreme displeasure. The short-sighted brutes will believe the emperor innocent of their misfortunes, and will turn all their resentment on the governors.

"In spite of all protests and danger, let the latter carry on their system unvaryingly, and employ every artifice to madden the Hungarians; let terrible punishments follow the slightest attempt at disobedience. The Magyars, not accustomed to so harsh a yoke, and having, on the con-

trary, feelings of pride aroused by their independence, will infallibly revolt. Then will be the occasion, the pretext awaited, to punish them; without judgment, or the observation of any legal form, cruel tortures will be inflicted on them, and they will be punished as if guilty of high treason. The corps d'armée held in readiness will then invade the country, and the crop will be fully ripe. The heads of the most illustrious, who might present serious obstacles to our designs, will be first cut off. If forty thousand men are not sufficient, or they may be in any danger, the king my master will strengthen them with other twenty thousand, hoping thus to establish a solid peace agreeable to God." *

This terrible harangue, which ought to have aroused the deepest indignation, was heard by the meeting with delight. All the hearers were in commotion, like a band of wolves and foxes, whose eyes flash with the thirst for murder. A procès-verbal of the declaration made by the ambassador was then drawn up, and all present signed it. Wallenstein and Caraffa, a Neapolitan adventurer, received orders to invade Hungary at the first rumour, or first popular movement. An occasion for tumult was indicated to them in the great fair soon about to be held at Sintau, on the Waag. In the event of disorders commencing there or elsewhere, they were recommended to surround the people and kill every individual above the age of twelve who spoke Hungarian; and, as the date of their birth could not be accurately guessed, they were recommended to measure with an ell measure; any above

* The Latin text of the speech will be found in Cornelius, Historia Hungarica, and Mailath, Geschichte der Magyaren, vol. v. p. 161.

that height would be pitilessly massacred. The butchery must continue without relaxation until all the powerful and brave men, all the probable leaders of an insurrection, had been killed, banished, demoralised, or captured. No matter if the country was depopulated; strangers of a docile character would be installed there, as had been done in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, by the assistance of Spain.

The Jesuits supported the plan with all their strength, and pressed on the execution; but events did not permit the emperor to satisfy their impatience. Occupied in a mortal struggle with Northern Germany, France, Denmark, Sweden, and his own subjects, the most ordinary common sense advised him not to irritate a warlike nation. It had as defender a hero ready to second its resentment—Bethlen Gabor threatened the court of Vienna. Europe had not beheld for a long time a military leader like him: judicious and brave, ready and indefatigable, eloquent and humane, sober and proud, amiable, educated, and magnanimous, he was adored by the nobles and peasants, the citizens and workmen, but above all by the soldiers, who regarded him as a glorious model. Bethlen Gabor had on several occasions assisted the Lutheran princes; but Ferdinand II. managed to gain him over, and adroitly concluded with him treaties of peace. The intrepid captain, however, ever felt his sword trembling in the scabbard. The Margrave of Brandenburg having presented him with a case full of precious glass, and asked him which vessel he considered the handsomest, the prince let it drop. "It is only glass," he said in Latin; and he offered the margrave in return a

sabre with a golden hilt adorned with diamonds: "That," he continued, "is a jewel which does not fear a fall." In 1629 he prepared to invade Austria, and was arming secretly, when he was attacked by indisposition. Feigning to conciliate his friendship, the emperor sent him a physician, chosen by the Jesuits. Bethlen Gabor did not suspect the villain, although his illness daily increased. The hero who had taken part in forty-two battles without receiving a wound, soon died from the attentions paid him.*

Such a splendid result did not, however, bring Hungary into the possession of Ferdinand II. For many years longer no attempts could be made to realise the hideous programme. The emperor descended from the throne into the tomb, and his son took the same journey; but no occasion had yet been offered to let loose on the country the Catholic bands, forerunners of the hangmen of the Inquisition. The hour, however, was approaching when the Habsburgs, in the name of that Christ who pardoned the adultress, and held up the good Samaritan as an example, were about to employ against the Hungarian heretics axe and cord, fire and sword, wheel and rack. A creature of the Jesuits, an emperor formed by their own hands, was just on the point of mounting the throne.

Leopold was born in 1640, and, as his brother was heir to the throne, he was designed for the clerical profession. He had as preceptor the Jesuit Eberhard Neidhard (often called Nitardi by historians) who was eventually taken by the sister of his pupil to Spain, where he became car-

* Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes, vol. iv. p. 71.

dinal and grand inquisitor. Neidhard poured into his pupil's mind the poison draught of Spanish bigotry. While quite a lad, his great amusement was cleaning the statues of saints and erecting little altars. His brother died in 1654, and he became heir presumptive to the throne. His father, Ferdinand III., nominated him, in 1655, King of Hungary; in 1656, King of Bohemia. He died the following year, and Leopold henceforth humbly exercised the sovereign power at the will of his masters.

The Jesuits had in him a prince according to their heart; every morning he heard three masses one after the other, during which he remained on his knees, and did not raise his eyes once. He seemed as if stupified with prayer: at times he would glance at one of the pious books lying on the ground before him. On fête days the triple ceremony was accompanied by music. Leopold insisted on all the ambassadors being present, and it was at times enough to make them resign office, so fatiguing did the task become; thus, during Lent, they were bound to be present at eighty offices. When the priests or monks approached the emperor, he humbly doffed his hat and gave them his hand to kiss. His entire conduct revealed an imperturbable phlegm. Subjected to the will of Heaven, or to the combinations of fortune which are regarded as its warnings, the puppet emperor never displayed trouble or emotion. One day, on sitting down to dinner, the lightning struck the room; Leopold said, calmly and coldly, "As Heaven gives us such a manifest sign that this moment would be better employed in fasting and prayer than with the pleasures of the table, remove the dishes." And he proceeded to the chapel without finishing his meal.

On his white and little gnomelike head weighed a vast peruke; he was very weak in the legs, and seemed to be always tottering. His stature below the middle height, the awkwardness of his gestures, and the stiffness of his manner, did not produce a favourable impression. His face was so projecting, his lower lip grew out so far beyond the upper, that his canine teeth were exposed: this conformation, peculiar to the Habsburgs, though exaggerated in him, interfered with his speech, so that his language resembled a grunt. With this ill-shapen mouth he had the temerity to play the flute, which made him perfectly ridiculous. A black but very thin beard imperfectly covered his prodigious chin. He wrote so vilely that few secretaries could read his writing; and when he addressed an autograph letter to a crowned head, it was absolutely necessary to attach a copy to it.

The court nobility and Jesuits reigned in his name and settled all business. The privy councillors, officers of the palace, and several generals, formed a powerful coterie; but the confessors of the prince, Balthazar Muller and Boccabella, aided at Vienna by two hundred and fifty Jesuits, exercised a still more terrible influence. The political action of the emperor was chiefly displayed in signing papers brought him ready drawn up; he only read very few of them, or corrected an irregular phrase. During the unhappy year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, he put his name to eight thousand two hundred and sixty-five official documents.

Shooting, music, and the stage, curiosities, gambling, and the turning-lathe, had much greater attractions for him

than state business. He turned ivory cups, even worked on watches and automata, and was passionately fond of numismatics. Nature having endowed him with some unusual talent, he composed agreeably. In an outburst of admiration, real or feigned, his Capellmeister said to him one day, "What a pity you had not been a simple musician instead of an emperor!" "Bah!" Leopold ingenuously replied; "perhaps I am better off as I am." Alchemy and divination occupied the rest of his time: adepts and miracle-mongers were sure to find in him a complacent auditor and liberal patron. Not only did he believe in predictions, but imagined that he possessed the gift of prophecy himself. In circumstances of great gravity, when he had to decide between war and peace, for instance, he would allow himself to be biased by chimeras. The priests had taught him everything save the art of governing, and hence a notice was several times found affixed to the palace gate, containing the words: "Leopolde, sis Cæsar et non musicus. Sis Cæsar et non Jesuita." (Leopold, be an emperor and not a musician; Emperor and not a Jesuit.)

This prince, though so well up in religion, was not warlike. During a reign of half a century, in which he had to support five great wars and subdue three dangerous insurrections, he never once showed himself in the field of battle or at a camp. A small number of reviews, held on solemn occasions, were sufficient to satisfy his martial tastes. The most celebrated took place in 1673, before General Montecuculi, at the moment when the first war between Austria and Louis XIV. broke out. During the siege of Vienna

by the Infidels, the timid emperor escaped as rapidly and as far as he could. The Jesuits, however, to reward their pupil for his obedience, surnamed him Leopold the Great, a title which no Germanic emperor had borne since Charlemagne.

Let us now regard this little, weak, and sickly man, wearing an enormous peruke, a hat overshadowed by a black plume, a Spanish cloak, and red shoes and stockings, as if he had been walking up to his knees in blood. Is it an apparition, or one of those natural curiosities shown in booths? You would be tempted to laugh or pity. Such, however, was the creature that the monarchical system and the fiction of right divine called to govern millions of subjects, whose every enterprise fortune favoured, and who, by a sign, would condemn to death hundreds of thousands of men superior to him in physical constitution and intellect. It reminds us of a magnificent passage in old Balzac, in which the nobility of the style equals the elevation of the ideas:

"There is a risk of being unjust in judging the merit of the counsels by the good fortune of the result. We must not let ourselves be dazzled by the brilliancy of success. What the Greeks and Romans, what we ourselves, have called admirable prudence, was fortunate temerity. There are men whose lives have been full of miracles, although they were not saints, and had no desire to be so: Heaven blessed all their faults and crowned all their follies.

"This fatal man ought to have perished from the first day of his vile conduct, and through such foolish enterprises: reason concluded that he would fall in consequence of the

maxims he held. But God wished to employ him in punishing the human race and disturbing the world. He thought he was satiating his passion, and he was executing the decree of Providence. Before destroying himself, he had leisure to destroy peoples and states, set fire to the four corners of the earth, and ruin the present and the future by the ill he did and by the examples he left.

"The great tragedies which are played upon earth were composed in heaven, and a rogue frequently acts the part of Atreus or Agamemnon."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION IN HUNGARY.

It was not till 1661 that the odious project drawn up in 1626 by the secret ambassador of Madrid could be set about. The war against the Porte served as the pretext: it was declared that Hungary was not able alone to resist the Turkish invasions, and the country was occupied by soldiers. So soon as they had taken possession, the imperial troops began pillaging, annoying, and ill-treating the inhabitants. Generals and officers supplied an example to the soldiers; courtiers openly said that the time had arrived to humiliate the pride of the Magyars, and make them pass through the Caudine forks of absolute power. "The heron's plumes they wear so haughtily on their heads," the cry was at Vienna, "shall be torn out by our Landsknechts; leaden buttons shall be substituted for those of gold and silver which now fasten their pelisses; the miserable garments the Bohemians have been forced to wear since their definitive subjection shall take the place of the Hungarian luxury."

As long as the war lasted the Magyars were constrained to endure this oppression and insolence. The Turks, masters of a large portion of their territory, came to an understanding with the Austrians to put down a warlike people, whose courage they feared. So early as 1577, David Ungnad, Austrian ambassador to Constantinople, while conversing with a pasha, asked him this question: "Has not the emperor a right to punish rebellious subjects like those residing in Hungary?" "Without doubt," the pasha replied; "no one will oppose it. But you must proceed craftily, work in the dark, hold out shares for the seditious, and then cut off their heads." The Habsburgs were only too ready to follow this advice.

The war lasted three years; and Louis XIV. sent four thousand men to the assistance of Austria. On the 1st of August, 1664, they pressed Montecuculi to offer battle, and were seconded by the princes of the empire. The Turks suffered a tremendous defeat; but then an unheard-of and unnatural event took place: the victors asked for peace, sued for it even humbly. Nine days after the triumph, a delegate from the cabinet of Vienna obtained an armistice at Vasvar, in the tent of the grand vizir, and on the 26th of September peace was signed for twenty years. Leopold surrendered to the grand seignior two first-class fortresses, Neuhausel and Grosswardein, and the latter gave the Turks such power in Transylvania, hitherto governed by an Austrian vassal, that the Mussulman cavalry passed the cold season there, instead of going, as usual, into winter quarters in Asia. Neither the provinces of the empire nor the estates of Hungary were consulted before signing this disgraceful treaty, although

the public law of Germany positively demanded it. The sovereigns of the Diet protested; the Magyar Assembly declared that it would refuse contributions and military service, if negotiations were entered into with the Mussulmans without convening their ambassadors, and consulting as to what should be done. All the political world was lost in conjectures; no one could explain conditions so disadvantageous to Germany after such a brilliant victory.

The secret object of Leopold was to prepare for the conversion of Hungary, by exposing it almost defenceless to the attacks of the Turks, and, by surrendering two fortresses of the first-class, he wished to render the Magyars dependent on Austria, and force them to fly to him for protection. To obtain this result, no sacrifice of honour or dignity seemed to him too painful. The Islamites strongly abused his concessions and humility. When Count Leslie, sent as envoy to Constantinople after the signature of peace, proceeded to take leave of his highness, being a very aged man he could not bow so lowly as Mussulman etiquette demanded; an usher thrust his head to the ground with such violence, that he received three wounds in his forehead. The imperial court did not complain, asked no satisfaction for this outrage: it was utterly governed by the Jesuits, and these men, enervated for anything save intrigue—wearing gowns, lace, and embroidery, like women—have as little feeling for their country as they have for the national dignity.

As soon as the alliance was concluded, Prince Lobkowitz assembled the magnates, in Leopold's name, at a Diet held at Presburg. He asked them for subsidies,

intended for the fresh imperial troops to be stationed in the country, for building new forts along the frontiers, and recommended them not to annoy, according to their usual fashion, the pashas residing near their districts. The estates replied by violent recriminations: the Hungarian charter forbade the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom; the military service must be solely performed by natives. In addition, the Golden Bull of King Andrew II., which all Hungarian monarchs, not excepting the Habsburgs, had sanctioned on their coronation ever since the year 1222, granted the Magyars the right of taking up arms whenever their franchises and privileges were violated. The Diet, therefore, demanded the removal of the imperial troops, who annoyed and plundered the population. The general promised to hold them in check, but declared that he could not withdraw them until order had been more fully established in the Hungarian provinces. Far from diminishing the oppression, he soon laid the first stone of a new fort, named Leopoldstadt, wishing thus to confirm the imperial authority, and increasing his means to gain the hearts of the people, as they love to be gained—by cunning and violence. The Hungarians dreamed of Andrew's Golden Bull; but their ruin was inscribed in the Book of Fate, and they were destined to suffer, during half a century, all the tortures which fanaticism can imagine to imitate demons while invoking the God of Mercy.

The persecution, in fact, was soon let loose on Hungary. Impatient to realise the project they had conceived so long, the Jesuits had found one of those sanguinary lacqueys who always turn up at the right moment when a

great crime is to be done, or an atrocious business requires pitiless instruments. Prince Eusebius of Lobkowitz was to Hungary what the Prince of Lichtenstein had been to Bohemia. His father had secured the good graces of Ferdinand II. by seconding his pious cruelty during the Thirty Years' War, and his servile and ferocious zeal was rewarded by the title of prince and vast possessions. Sprung from blood, this family supported its prosperity by blood. Eusebius possessed an immense fortune, estimated at 12,000,000 florins, and one of his offices, the military command of Silesia, was worth 30,000*l.*

The death of George Lippay, Archbishop of Gran, was an opportunity eagerly seized on by the Catholics to inaugurate their implacable task. Austria promoted to the vacant see an ardent adversary of the new faith—a species of barbarian, named Szeleptsenyi. His zeal in supporting an imperious bigot, the widowed Sophia Bathory, lady paramount of immense fiefs, who incessantly ill treated the Protestants, had already gained the Ultramontane prelate the favour of the Jesuits, and naturally of Leopold. When resistance was offered the two persecutors, the Landsknechts and Trabants received orders to go to their assistance. We know with what gentleness and respect for humanity troops behave on such occasions.

Exasperated by such conduct, the Hungarian nobles held a secret assembly at Neusohl, and deliberated on their course of action. The general opinion was to break from the emperor, raise levies, and seek the protection of the Turks by recognising Muhammad IV. as suzerain; and an emissary of the name of Ladislaus Balla was sent off to the grand vizir, who was then besieging Candia. Two

intimate friends of the Mussulman general were alone present at the interview. The vizir bound himself by no positive promise, but gave an encouraging reply; and the negotiator, unable to obtain more, prepared to depart. But among the persons who had listened to him was an Austrian spy, the Greek Panajotti. His first care was to write to Leopold of what he had heard, and the very vessel in which the emissary left the island carried the letter of denunciation. It arrived at the imperial palace at the same time that Ladislaus reached Hungary. Like a night-bird hidden in the darkness, Prince Lobkowitz henceforth kept an eye on the conspirators.

A short time later, the Palatine Wesselényi, chief of the opposition, was attacked by a sudden fever, and he soon died at his castle of Murany, in the heart of the Carpathians. Another lord, equally dangerous, Nicholas Zriny, Ban of the Croats, a man of tried courage, surnamed Scanderbeg II., did not survive him long. He was found in a forest near his residence, and his body bore traces of numerous wounds. The report was spread that a wild boar had killed him; but, as there was a bullet in his head, the explanation was rendered improbable. Suspicions were directed to the right man.

While these mysterious deaths were envenoming the resentment of the Hungarians, a strange scene was producing a similar effect at court. Leopold fell ill, and his sufferings were accompanied by such unwonted symptoms, that they put his physicians at fault. Every kind of treatment failed in turn; and at last apprehensions were entertained for the emperor's life, and novenas, paternosters, and touching of relics, were multiplied. An un-

known poison was rapidly undermining his strength. While in this critical position, the Milanese Chevalier Francis Borri, a celebrated alchemist, was brought prisoner to Vienna : the independence of his character, and the freedom of his opinions, had excited against him the hatred of the Holy See and Loyola's hypocrites. The Pope had promised thirty-five thousand francs to any one who would give him up : the proscript had sought shelter in Denmark, but wishing to live in a softer climate, he started for Stamboul, but had the imprudence to pass through Moravia, where the Papal nuncio caused him to be arrested. When the emperor, who was so fond of alchemy, learned that he was at Vienna, he displayed an imperious desire to see him, and his caprice was gratified.

On the 28th of April, 1670, at nightfall, the chevalier was introduced into the sick man's room, which seemed very gloomy, for two candles threw but a dim light around. The sallow complexion and sunken cheeks of the emperor, his languor, his suffering, the thirst that ever tormented him and which nothing would appease, struck the visitor. While considering what poison could have produced this effect, he noticed the red tinge and vivacity of the flame surmounting the tapers : a white vapour exhaled from it, and had evidently formed a deposit on the ceiling. A singular smell was also diffused through the room.

"You are breathing a poisoned atmosphere," the chemist said to the sick man. "Be kind enough to have your physician summoned."

The doctor hurried in, and the chevalier directed his

attention to the unusual phenomena produced by the candles. Others were fetched from the empress's apartments; these produced a more regular light, and burned more quietly, without emitting smoke or making a snapping noise. A gold fillet ran round the top and bottom of the patient's tapers, evidently to prevent any mistake, and, since Candlemas, no others had been employed in the apartments inhabited by Leopold. There were thirty-five pounds of these dangerous lights left, and, on analysing them, it was discovered that the wick had been steeped in a solution of arsenic, and then surrounded with pure wax. A dog, which was given a piece of the wick to eat in its food, died within three hours; and the tapers unused contained two pounds and a half of arsenic.

"The chevalier and the physician immediately transported the patient into another apartment; they prescribed for him together, and the chevalier remained in the palace under surveillance. The first remedy given to the patient acted most successfully, and produced hopes of saving him. On the 25th of May Leopold was cured. The chevalier was given over to the nuncio, taken to the city of the Cæsars, and condemned to retractation of his theories on God and nature, and perpetual imprisonment. The sovereign he had preserved from inevitable death was not powerful enough to tear him from the claws of the Roman Inquisition, and could only prove his gratitude by settling on him a pension of two hundred ducats. The clever physician ended his days in the tower of St. Angelo, after fifteen years' captivity.*

* He left a journal of his attendance on the emperor. See also Fessler's Geschichte der Ungarn, vol. ix. p. 172 *sqq.*

Who were the instigators of this attempted murder? It seems natural to accuse the Hungarians: their chiefs had been poisoned and assassinated, and they might have wished to resort to the same measures. But there is not a trace of suspicion of them: the father-purveyor of the Viennese Jesuits had purchased the tapers, and when the Milanese detected their dangerous nature, the merchant was found to have disappeared. Why, on the other hand, would this dignitary of an ambitious order, that governed the emperor, plot his death—what personal resentment could have animated him? It is a problem which history has been unable to solve. A German author, Fessler, supposed the monk instigated by Louis XIV., because at that time Leopold had no male issue, and the French king could have claimed the Spanish crown under favourable circumstances; but this subtile explanation appears to me highly improbable. At any rate, the pious emperor did not dare suspect, much less prosecute, an ecclesiastic. The danger he had incurred was converted into a further accusation against the Hungarians.

The magnates at length perceived that their plan was known, and that they were watched. From Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria, regiments were marching on Hungary to form an imposing army, and they proceeded by the most devious routes. The Prince of Lobkowitz, to gain time, fed the Hungarians with vain promises. Still, he arrested the conspirator Tattenbach in his own castle, and arms and ammunition sufficient for six thousand men were found there. At the same time, eighteen thousand infantry and cavalry entered Croatia.

The insurrectionists were surprised, and prevented from collecting sufficient strength for resistance. Then began one of those frightful routs, preceded by no combat, in which one side strikes and the other is continually struck, without being able to offer a shadow of resistance.

Peter Zriny succeeded his brother in the dignity of Ban of Croatia, and in his projects of national deliverance, and he was aided by his brother-in-law Frangipani. On the news that General von Spantkau was marching on them, the greater portion of their troops abandoned them, and the neighbouring pashas made no movement to help them. They had but time to throw themselves, with two thousand Morlachs, into the castle of Czaktornya, resolved to sustain a siege in case of absolute necessity. Zriny deputed his confessor, the monk Augustin Forstall, to Prince Lobkowitz, to testify his fidelity to the emperor, guarantee his peaceful intentions, and solicit the recal of General Spantkau; and the monk was ordered to say that his military preparations had been solely designed against the infidels and the enemies of the court. The priest brought back a deed, signed by Lobkowitz and the high chancellor, in which they promised not to treat him as a rebel, to respect his life, estates, liberty, and honour, if he submitted betimes, handed over his son as hostage, sent the prince a blank signature, and abdicated his office as Ban of the Croats. In exchange, he was offered the captaincy-general of Carlstadt or Warasdin. These stipulations were made in the emperor's name. Zriny hastened to comply, and promised to proceed to Vienna so soon as the emperor required his presence. On the sheet of paper the prince made the

monk write that Zriny pledged himself to receive garrisons into all his castles and denounce all mutineers, after which General Spantkau approached his residence, where he believed himself in safety. Great was the consternation of the two lords when they heard the thunder of the artillery before a preliminary summons had been sent them. The Morlachs defended themselves courageously, but the numerical superiority of the imperial troops soon convinced them that resistance would be vain. Zriny and his brother-in-law decided on quitting the castle at night, and proceeding straight to Vienna.

The gates of the castle were opened after their departure; the wife of the ban was arrested; the jewels, plate, and valuable furniture placed in waggons, and carried off to the capital.

The two chiefs had scarce dismounted at the Swan Hotel than their swords were taken from them.

While their province was thus kept down, Charles of Lorraine and John of Spork invaded Hungary Proper with nine thousand Landsknechts. On the way they arrested a great number of persons, but principally Huguenots and Reformed ministers, whom they dragged after them. Many respectable families sought shelter beyond the mountains in Transylvania. The only exploits of the Imperialists consisted in occupying towns and leaving garrisons there, seizing castles, and confiscating the property of so-called rebels. Charles of Lorraine was detailed with several battalions against the fortified manor of Murany, where the palatine's widow peacefully resided, under a letter of surety she had obtained from the emperor. She opened the gates of the citadel imme-

diately to the general, paid him all honours, and accepted a German garrison. But he had scarce quitted the castle than the princess was arrested, having been betrayed and denounced by her own secretary. When her house was searched, all Wesselenyi's correspondence with the malcontents, since the disgraceful treaty of Vasvar, was found.

The letters, the widow, and the informer were taken to Vienna. The perfidious servant was ordered to interpret the letters written in cypher for the sake of obtaining further information; he was several times put to the torture, and when all the information that could be obtained had been drawn from him, his head was cut off for not having revealed the conspiracy sooner. The papers were of a nature to compromise half Hungary, and this resource was made use of with pitiless dexterity. Nadasty, the richest of the Magyars, could not escape the agents of the court; he was arrested one morning in bed and imprisoned at Vienna, while three hundred other nobles shared the same fate. A few popular tumults, incited by the arrest of the magnates, were repressed with ferocious joy.

Hungary had been disarmed, her chiefs captured, and resistance prevented. All to be still carried out was to tear up the constitution and scatter the rags to the winds, after which the Protestant aristocracy would be decimated. The orthodox Church would then find no difficulty in converting the citizens and people, and reaping an abundant harvest on soil manured with gore. The pious hearts expanded with joy.

CHAPTER IX.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS—TYRANNICAL MEASURES.

THE pretended culprits were taken before exceptional judges, arbitrarily appointed by the emperor. The commission was presided over by a certain Paul Hocher, who played a cruel and infamous part throughout this conspiracy of the Austrian government; there was also a Windischgrätz, but none of the members were drawn from Hungary, in accordance with the laws of the kingdom. The national charter forbade natives being tried beyond the frontier and their examination carried on by strangers; but this servile tribunal sat at Vienna beneath the eyes of Leopold. The legislation was doubly violated. Although the provinces that had escaped from the power of the Mussulmans were swamped by Austrian soldiers, they drew up a formal protest, in which they declared that, as all national rights were despised, the sentence would possess no moral value, for the estates of Hungary could alone try accusations of high treason and revolt. No notice was taken of this courageous act. Zriny, Fran-

gipani, and Nadasty addressed supplications to the emperor proving their innocence and imploring his commiseration, but the Prince of Lobkowitz would not allow them to be sent to their address.*

Nadasty had possibly murmured in secret, but he had behaved irreproachably, and even supported the fanaticism of the emperor. Throughout his domains he had persecuted the Protestants and dispossessed them of their churches and schools. Hence there was no charge against him; his immense fiefs, his eight or nine millions of fortune, a considerable sum for the period, alone rendered him criminal. Thus a singular question was raised by the tribunal; the judges could not and would not allow the utter groundlessness of the charges against him; he had resisted rather than seconded the malcontents, and had solicited the clemency of the emperor. They, therefore, asked, "Is it just and right to pardon the confidant, the accomplice in a revolt, who not only evinces penitence, but, as far as he could, prevented the execution of the scheme, if, on the other hand, the accused possess large estates, numerous partisans, and a well-merited reputation?"

This doubtful point produced a violent discussion, after which the problem was negatived by a majority of votes. The prevalent opinion was, that it would be better to pardon a man more culpable, but less rich, skilful, and influential, who could never serve as leader of the rebels.

In this iniquitous trial not only were not the witnesses confronted with the accused, but they did not even know

* Franz Wagner: Historia Leopoldi, vol. i. p. 251; Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn.

the name of their accusers. This raised another discussion in the commission. The most obstinate judges maintained that witnesses should not be confronted with prisoners in matters of high treason. The Dissidents invoked the rules of common sense and natural right, but it was objected that the law of nature had never been accepted. (*Ast contrà responsum jus naturæ nullo tempore in Hungariâ fuisse receptum.*)*

The deliberation ended, as might be foreseen, in a capital sentence being pronounced against all the magnates suspected by the court of Vienna. Peter Zriny, confined in a subterranean cell, tried to escape, but a serving-woman saw him and gave the alarm; he was confined still more closely, and not let out of sight. The intercession of the Pope, which the Hungarians had obtained with some difficulty, failed against the influence and will of the Jesuits. The ruin of a martial people was necessary for their plans; like the idols of Tyre and Carthage, the order expected its victims.

The evening previous to the execution Nadasty was solemnly erased from the roll of the Austrian nobility. He was taken in a carriage at ten o'clock to the Hotel of the Provisional Estates, where an harangue was held by the governor, who at first gave him his titles of magnate and count, but terminated his address thus: "These precious qualities thou hast for ever lost; thou art only a

* Anemonen, vol. i. p. 129; Vehse, vol. v. p. 212. The acts of this odious process, buried for many years in the archives, were finally brought to light by a singular accident. In 1823 and 1824 they were sold for waste paper, and an archæologist had the good fortune to notice them.

traitor, convicted of high treason; from this moment thou possessest nothing; thou hast lost dominions, privileges, dignities, even thy name, which thy family will no longer have the right to bear."

Nadasty had eleven sons; his paternal feelings outswayed all others, and he exclaimed in Latin, the usual language of the Hungarian aristocracy, "Vitam, honorem et bona tolle, saltem liberis salva famam." (Take my life, titles, and estates, but save the honour of my children.)

The reply was that his children would henceforth be called Von Kreutz, and that the emperor, in his exalted clemency, would assign them a pension to live on.

His name was then erased from the Golden Book, after which an odious and grotesque ceremony completed his humiliation. The questor drove him from the room, a domestic chased him down stairs, and the governor of the hotel made him leave ignominiously by a back door, where several members of the Regency were awaiting him, with a carriage, torch-bearers, and five hundred horse. He was then led back to the City Hall, where he was confined while preparations were being made for his punishment.

The judicial assassination was fixed for the next day, April 30, 1671. The same military measures were taken for the Hungarian nobles as had preceded, fifty years back, the butchery of the Bohemian nobles. All the doors and shops were closed by superior orders; soldiers guarded all the streets, patrols of cuirassiers went about to suppress the slightest disturbance, and the inhabitants were hardly permitted to appear in public.

Nadasty's head was cut off at ten in the morning, in

the ground room of the City Hall, before no other witnesses than the municipal council, a few gentlemen, and the Turkish envoy, accompanied by a dragoman, who supplied him with all the requisite information, to make a faithful report of the tragical event to his highness. The sentence ran that the culprit would have his right hand first cut off; but the emperor spared him this barbarous operation. He died like a man, whom so unjust a sentence astounded, even under the butcher's knife. The people were allowed to inspect the corpse for an hour, these hideous scenes being the favourite spectacle of the mob. They saw the prince laid in a coffin, dressed in Hungarian attire, with his head on his chest, almost floating in the blood that half filled the bier.*

At the same moment he received the fatal stroke, Zriny and Frangipani were executed in the arsenal of Wiener-Neustadt. The executioner made several attempts to decapitate them, and Frangipani more especially suffered from his cruel want of skill. He was the last member of an ancient Roman family, which had many years before sent to the scaffold the celebrated Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen. We may say that he expiated the death of this victim like an original sin.

Two other executions took place simultaneously at Prague: Andrew Nagy, of Fuged, the most intrepid of the Hungarian chevaliers, paid with his life for his glorious renown and the terror he caused. Francis Borris suffered the same fate: the Jesuits had obtained from

* Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes, vol. v. pp. 213, 214. The fatal sword and the block on which Nadasty's head rested are still shown at Vienna.

him an abjuration of Protestantism, and when he had renounced the new faith, they cut off his head. It was not, in fact, a purely religious persecution: if fanaticism played a part in the conduct of the Austrian government, its ambitious projects, its firm desire to subjugate Hungary to the caprices of absolute power, had at least an equal part. Some, therefore, were killed under pretext of heresy, others in spite of their orthodox belief. Political interests and financial avidity formed the sole guide; it multiplied sentences of death in order to multiply the confiscations, and handed over the most illustrious persons to the executioner, to destroy their influence. The two crimes went hand in hand; political persecution facilitated religious persecution, and the converse. Borris proceeded to the place of execution with the tranquillity of a just man, reciting prayers. Fuged died like a hero who sacrifices his life without regret for the liberty of a hapless people.

Tattenbach did not perish at Grätz until December 1, 1671. This man, who had been faithful up to March, 1670, but whom there was a determination to destroy, had been irritated in every conceivable way, and led to the verge of an abyss. In order first to compromise and then to accuse him, the service had been employed of a miserable wretch called Thurn, a devoted Catholic, an utter debauchee, overburdened with debt, and harassed by want; one of those men who have a conscience "wide as hell." An ex-chaplain of Tattenbach's, Michael Ferri, at that time pastor of Crayburg, served as his accomplice in his ignoble work. The two scoundrels suggested dubious proceedings to the count, induced him to utter im-

prudent language, and then denounced him. To render the mystification complete, Thurn was at the outset imprisoned with his lord—the spy with his victim—and they were examined together. But the agent was speedily released, while the scaffold was erected for the credulous gentleman. The unhappy man sent off an express direct to Vienna, imploring the mercy of being shot; but Leopold refused this last and gloomy favour. The executioner gave him also three strokes before his punishment ended.*

The monarch deducted a sum of money from the confiscated property of the victims, with which he purchased three thousand masses for the repose of their souls; thus following the example furnished by Ferdinand II. after the butchery of the Bohemian nobles and the assassination of Wallenstein.

As the estates were burdened with considerable mortgages, the creditors were summoned to come in, bringing with them their titles. There was no intention of paying them off; on the contrary, the authorities wished to free the property at one blow, and without expense. Great was the surprise and grief of the creditors when the imperial agent declared a bankruptcy in the name of his government. They fancied they were going to receive cash down, and had only been called together to have silence imposed on them, pistol in hand.†

The sons and legitimate heirs of the decapitated magnates were reduced to misery; and to set the seal on their misfortunes, they were ordered to wear a red silken

* Hormayr: Anemonen, vol. i. p. 135. † Ibid. 127.

cord round their necks, imitating the mark made by the axe.

The wives obtained equally little commiseration. The widow of the Palatine Wesselenyi was cast into a narrow cell, where despair and suffering subdued her courage. A heroine so long as she had her husband by her side, she made her prison re-echo with her cries and sobs. The treasury robbed her of her vast domains: her money had been concealed in the Franciscan hospital at Kremnitz, where she assumed it would be safe; but her own chaplain, Father John Schaumburg, piously betrayed the secret. Of all her immense fortune, the prisoner only obtained a pension of one hundred thalers a month. The wife of Peter Zriny, Ban of the Croats, suffered the same fate; and many other ladies and daughters of the first families languished, like her, behind Austrian bolts, in Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt, either in common dungeons, or in the oubliettes of the convents.

The only man the Austrian government spared, or affected to spare, was the one most compromised, and who had taken the most active part in the rebellion. Having invited Starhemberg, governor of Tokay, to a festival, Rakoczy arrested and put him in prison: then he marched on Tokay with a numerous band, hoping to capture it by a bold stroke. The garrison, however, was not surprised, and the attempt failed. Another expedition of the same nature was not more successful. The prince laid siege to the castle of Munkacs, where his own mother resided, the widow Bathory, celebrated for her fanatical zeal for the court of Rome. She would not open her gates to him,

loving her faith more than her country, her religion more than her family. Rakoczy was marching a second time on Tokay, when he learnt the arrest of Zriny, Frangipani, and Tattenbach. He immediately threw himself in his mother's arms, and implored her aid and that of General Starhemberg. They saved him from punishment, but he had to pay a fine of four hundred thousand florins, promise to give up as many as possible of the documents connected with the conspiracy, and receive Austrian garrisons into his castles. Having accepted and fulfilled all these conditions, he fancied himself in safety; but, soon after, he was attacked by a mysterious disease, which carried him off. He left a widow, daughter of Peter Zriny, and an infant in the cradle; but the court soon put it out of their power to commit any injury.*

It is impossible to read without indignation the decrees of the exceptional tribunals sitting at Presburg, Vienna, and Leutschau. It was merely necessary for a man to possess large landed estates or money; to exercise an influence more or less extensive, or be classed among the suspected, and he would be soon imprisoned under some excuse. The spacious prisons of the capital not being able to contain the multitude of persons arrested, they were lodged in hotels, with an escort of keepers.

Those who escaped death, or even saved their estates by abjuring Protestantism, did not escape the imposition of a heavy fine.

* Mailath: Geschichte der Magyaren, vol. v. pp. 19, 20; Histoire des Révolutions de Hongrie, par l'Abbé Brenner, vol. i. pp. 275, 276. The Hague, 1739. 2 vols. 12mo.

The court of Vienna seemed to have adopted as its motto the lines of Corneille:

> Aussitôt qu'un sujet s'est rendu trop puissant,
> Encore qu'il soit sans crime, il n'est pas innocent.

Pastor Nicholas Brabitz and the preacher Drabitzky were tortured in their dungeon. The trials of Gaspard Balloch, Martin Banchy, George Chernel, George Sooss, the intrepid Chevalier Szekely, Bartowitz, and some other Lutherans, have an air of impudent irony. Stephen Kattay and Stephen Tzegledi were saved by the plague from a death on the scaffold. Against Stephen Boxa, his great military experience and the number of his partisans were brought as accusation. The articles of the capitulation made by General Starhemberg with Francis and Stephen Barkoczy, when the brothers surrendered their castle, were violated. The agreements made with other captains were equally broken; for did not the Jesuits manage this grand business? and do we not all know their tortuous morality, which is the destruction of all other morality?

It was useless for Ladislaus Fay to have known and thwarted the projects of Wesselenyi; for Ladislaus Szemere, vice-governor of the county of Zemplin, to have abandoned Rakoczy on the proclamation of the emperor's manifesto, joined the Austrian bands, provisioned them at an awkward moment, and offered other valuable services—for could their riches be pardoned? *Pauperes fiant et exigui*, the cabinet of Vienna repeated to its agents.

The supreme result sought was the destruction of the Magyar constitution, and no violence was spared to attain that object. The Prince of Lobkowitz was supplied with unlimited powers for this purpose, and his lieutenants seconded him only too well. Spantkau, Spork, Heister, and Kopp von Neuding pushed their zeal to fury, and outrivalled each other in the activity they displayed in their cruel work. The arrest of magnates, lords, chevaliers, Protestant pastors, barbarity, false accusations, rapine and murder, appeared to be an amusement to them. The lowest captain had men hung and impaled with a sort of feverish ardour and sanguinary inspiration.* More than three hundred nobles and a multitude of schismatic priests perished in the dungeons of Presburg: all the members of the Reformed Church were treated as rebels. The Jesuits and their creatures left the Protestants no respite: Andrew Szirmay was brought to trial for having said that Loyola's foxes must be avoided. Frivolous motives like these were considered sufficient to justify every variety of severity—sentences of exile, confiscations, perpetual imprisonment, and capital punishments.

Count John of Rothal and Godfrey von Heister sat at Presburg in the capacity of sovereign arbiters; they had orders to proceed summarily, and avoid all judicial delays. The edict stated that "they were to punish the conspirators without observing any legal form." Many of the prisoners bought their liberation from the tribunal; the majority of them, and all those who were contumacious, lost their property, and were condemned to exile; and others were punished with life imprisonment. A multi-

* Szirmay: Notice Historique sur le Comté de Zemplin, p. 222.

tude of Reformed pastors, sold at ten pounds a head, went to row the galleys of Venice and Naples, or worked on the fortifications in Hungary. A certain number perished by the axe. An old man of eighty-three years of age, Nicholas Drabicius, pastor at Varanno, was hanged for having published a book of prophecies under the title "Light out of the Darkness." His right hand was cut off prior to strangulation, and then his body was burned under the gallows along with his predictions—an ignoble and useless ceremony.

A decree of the 6th of June, 1671, at length openly revealed the intentions of the court. The emperor declared in it that, as force of arms had rendered him absolute master of the country, the national charter was, consequently, annulled, and the will of the prince would be henceforth the sole law. The troops would hold military occupation of the fortresses, towns, villages, and hamlets; the captains and soldiers would be quartered on the inhabitants, who would supply them with light, wood, salt, straw, hay, and oats. Men of every description—nobles, citizens, or countrymen—would henceforth all pay personal taxes, while a heavy impost was laid on all articles of consumption.

The Bishop of Waitzen, and the Archbishops of Gran, Colocza, and Neitra (the latter, Thomas Palffy, was chancellor of the province), addressed the most pressing and courageous observations to Leopold.* The prince remained deaf, like a political machine secretly worked by

* The letter of the Hungarian clergy is full of eloquence: we do not quote it, on account of its length, but it will be found in Mailath vol. v. p. 23 *sqq.*

clever engineers. Thirty thousand Landsknechts spread over Hungary, stifled all complaints, repressed indignation, and introduced a reign of terror and rapine in a country hitherto remarkable for its liberty.

CHAPTER X.

HUNGARY PILLAGED—DRAGONNADES AND FORCED CONVERSIONS.

ALL these measures were either directly ordered or tacitly sanctioned by Leopold. Like wild beasts whose eyes glisten at the idea of murder, the emperor only roused himself from his usual lethargy to form violent resolutions or give sanguinary orders. He then clapped his hands, as he himself remarked, and heads flew off. There was, besides, in him, as in all the Austrian princes, an affectation of kindness and paternity, which Baron Hormayr compares to crocodile tears. On the 22nd of March, 1670, he wrote: "Affairs are going on well in Hungary; I shall profit by the circumstance, and arrange matters very differently in that country." The Ultramontane order that led him in the leash, which respected neither human nor divine* laws, employed, besides, every trick and falsehood to influence him. An hotel he had

* Omnia ferè gererentur cleri, jura humana et divina juxtà temnentis, et violantis, nutu, consilio, arbitratu. (Historia Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ in Hungariâ, p. 35.)

ordered to be built having been accidentally burned, the blame was laid on the Hungarians and the Jews; on cleaning out the palace fountain several dead dogs were found in it; evidently the Magyars had thrown them in for the purpose of poisoning the imperial family. The failure of the crops, the dearness of provisions, the increasing mortality, were produced by them alone; it was a punishment their damnable doctrines drew on Germany. The German captains were, therefore, allowed to violate all the rules of humanity; not only did General Kopp impale the Reformers of the male sex, but women and children suffered the same fate. A French renegade who deserted from the Swedish army, the Count de Souches, a native of La Rochelle, imagined all sorts of inventions to increase the sufferings and prolong the torture of his victims.* The apostate believed he could wash out his infamy in the blood of the unhappy creatures. The Jews were expelled, several were decapitated, and all their synagogues demolished.

And yet St. Paul called charity the greatest of all Christian virtues!

With this frightful violence were mingled ignoble scenes, comic and wretched disputes. The traitors, the denouncers, the agents of imperial tyranny, meanly quarrelled over the spoils of the oppressed and the favours of the court. The Viennese archives supply curious and mournful information on this subject. George and Michael Bori complain, for instance, to the High Chancellor Hocher that they have not yet received more than

* Anemonen, vol. i. p. 123.

one hundred ducats for betraying the secrets of Wesselenyi, and inducing the Bishop of Waitzen to destroy a memorial the palatine had drawn up shortly before his death. The brothers Nagy evince similar dissatisfaction. The widow of Peter Zriny accuses the monk Augustin Forstall, whom we saw deputed by the Ban of the Croats to the Prince of Lobkowitz; she reproaches him with having calumniated her, betrayed and robbed her husband first, and then her brother Frangipani. A general clamour was raised against the oppression and depredations of Thomas Palffy, provincial chancellor, and his auxiliary, Adam Forgats. Well, the latter denounces his comrade in plunder in a long letter addressed to Albert Zinzendorf, a member of the secret council. He asserts that Palffy invents imaginary complaints that he may have a right to extend his rapine all around! Promises had been made himself which had not been kept: how did they expect him to live or keep up any figure, since the Turks were installed in his house? This scamp offers the emperor the most pernicious advice; he teaches us that many persons, though acquitted by the prosecuting tribunals, were not set at liberty, on account of their wealth; they were dragged about from prison to prison in the suite of the commissioners; they were robbed of a portion of their estates, or compelled to exchange them for others less valuable. The generals did not display any greater restraint; they seized on town-houses and country-houses, laid hands on jewellery, carriages, and horses, not to speak of money: they were ravaging wolves, who let no prey escape them! The Jesuit Father

Cornelius Gentilotti is in a state of despair because the domestic spies employed by him to watch Zriny and Frangipani had not been yet rewarded.

Thus these devouring brutes attacked each other, thus cruelty, as usual, was joined to baseness, cupidity to treason, sickly vanity to unbounded impudence! The oppressors not only seized the spoil, but the very rags that covered their victims.

The Magyars, however, are not like the Germans, a timid race easily discouraged: tyranny could only be re-established among them with alternating success and reverses. At the very moment when German despotism seemed to have taken deep root in Hungary, a black spot collected on the horizon, which was destined one day to let loose on the invaders a fearful tempest, and shake the House of Austria to its foundations.

Among the men whom imperial tyranny and perfidy most eagerly pursued was the palatine of the county of Arva, Stephen Tekeli. Besieged in his castle by Generals Spork and Heister, he fell ill during the siege, and soon felt that any resistance was vain. Seeing fortune betray and life abandon him at the same moment, he only thought of saving his son. Emeric, then thirteen years of age, was dressed as a poor villager, and entrusted to the devotion of two gentlemen. They conducted him without any misadventure to the castle of Likava, in the county of Lipto, and three days after this escape the mountain chief expired, believing his heir beyond reach, and consoled by this belief. General Heister took possession of the manor, while Spork pursued the fugitive. He soon arrived beneath the walls of the fortress where he

had sought shelter, and was persuaded he had him this time. But the lad escaped once more, disguised as a young Polish girl, and passed through the Austrian camp. He at length reached Transylvania, that place of refuge, that citadel of granite and clay, constructed by Nature on behalf of the persecuted Hungarians.

This youth, with ruddy lips and modest eye, who was passed off as a young Polish maiden, was the future avenger of his countrymen. All dangers were averted from him, that he might one day take sanguinary reprisals.* He was destined to lead beneath the walls of Vienna two hundred and eighty thousand men, and deal the House of Austria such terrible blows that it must have disappeared long ago, had it not been for one of those marvellous chances that always save it, which protect it against its own faults and crimes, and which, by their number and constant recurrence, form the most astounding prodigy in history.

While the young count was growing up under the protection of Nemesis, the imperial court gained ground, and fortified its despotism daily. A great number of Protestants disappeared for ever in the dungeons of Bohemia; for this province, formerly free and flourishing, where moral and material activity were so developed, was now inhabited by a population of slaves so poor, gloomy, dumb, and wretched, that anything might be done among them, even burying people alive whom it was advisable to get rid of.

The fear of the Turks alone moderated, for some time, the tyrannical impatience of the prince and his black-robed councillors, for it was still apprehended that they

would make common cause with the malcontents. After three years' siege, Candia had just fallen into their hands, and they could dispose of their troops; besides, they were making mysterious preparations, the object of which was unknown. These armaments were directed against Poland, where John Sobieski met them at the point of the sword, and Leopold, thus freed from his alarms, no longer veiled his designs.

The system of conversion practised in Austria was henceforth applied in Hungary. The Jesuits, who invented this method, considered it excellent, and would not depart from it. The armed peregrinations commenced on January 2, 1672, and the orthodox priests spread over the Magyar provinces to enlighten souls by means more worthy of Tiberius than of the just man who died on the cross. Szeleptsenyi, Archbishop of Gran; the Archbishop of Colocza; Leopold Kolonicz, Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt, and president of the tribunal of Presburg; and the Bishops of Grosswardein and Erlau displayed an ardent degree of proselytism. Three or four hundred dragoons accompanied each of them, provided with arguments irresistible if not exactly Christian, and a squadron of Jesuits followed them everywhere. As soon as they arrived in a country the inhabitants were collected by force, a Jesuit sang or declaimed a sermon, to which the drawn swords of the Trabants added military eloquence: as a peroration, the soldiers levelled their carbines, and the poor villagers, assumed to be converted by the orator's talent, had to abjure the doctrines of the Reformation on the spot. The Ultramontanes thus effected numerous conversions, who can doubt it? What triumph to pro-

pagate their maxims so rapidly, and how sincere this change of opinion, this Catholic piety, must have been! Banished for life, the recalcitrants sought an asylum in Transylvania and the Turkish empire, where they were treated less harshly by infidels than by the apostles of Rome. All their property, we need hardly say, was confiscated to the treasury, and Jesuits were installed in all the religious buildings, churches, schools, and manses built by the Protestants at their own charges and by authority of the National Assembly, just as if the country had been conquered.

The orthodox magnates and lords aided in these odious expeditions undertaken for the salvation of souls. In all their estates they despoiled the Reformers of their churches and schools, expelled the ministers and teachers, or threw them into dungeons, seizing with pious solicitude every earthly treasure they possessed.

Hypocrisy was mingled, as is usually the case, with violence and rapacity. A Jesuit of the name of Kellio wrote a pamphlet to justify the apostolic invasion, and had the impudence to father his work on John Lapsansky, secretary of an archbishop. Another attempted to prove that all the Hungarian laws and charters possessed no value, and ought not to be respected. A third tried to deceive public opinion in Europe: he sought to make it believed that Hungary was suffering not from religious causes, but was simply punished for rebellion.*

* This is the title of his work: Extractus brevis et verus, quo candidè demonstratur acatholicorum prædicantium e regno Hungariæ proscriptionem et degradationem factam esse respectu rebellionis non autem religionis. Tyrnaviæ, 1675. It is a quarto book of thirty-five pages.

In the towns, the Catholic population was armed to assist the troops, and Lutheran and Calvinist churches were taken possession of by force.

If the Dissenters refused to open the doors, they were broken in: even in Presburg this persuasive method was tried. Two hundred men having assembled in a church to defend it, the castle artillery was ordered to play upon it; this threat destroyed their resolution. At Kaschau, as the pastor would not give up the key of the cathedral, a magnificent building consecrated to Saint Elizabeth, the Bishop of Erlau, who with his canons directed the warlike mission, ordered the doors to be broken in. As the carpenters called to the task displayed some hesitation, a canon, assailed by a sudden frenzy, tore an axe from one of them and attacked the woodwork, shouting at the top of his voice, "Imitate me—down with the Lutheran heresy!" He was imitated, and the blows of the axe rang through the holy place, which the fanatics soon carried as if it had been a besieged town.

At Komorn, the zeal of the Catholic priests carried them even further. They seized the Reformed pastor, John Szaki, a gentle and innocent man; they first shaved his head as a jest, and then roasted him before a slow fire, after larding him with small darts dipped in pitch and sulphur. The Hurons could not have done better.*

We should not feel surprised that the resistance was at times energetic. George Barsonyi, Bishop of Grosswardein, and his brother John, prothonotary to the county of Neitra, having attacked, at the head of four hundred

* Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn, vol. ix. p. 127. This fact is proved by a great number of witnesses.

dragoons, a district in the county of Thurocs, the peasants revolted, put the Croats to flight, killed the prothonotary, and the bishop, who had received several wounds, would have shared the same fate, had not the Protestant pastor, Daniel Kermann, sheltered him with his body, and thus saved his life. The Catholic priests who led the pitiless bands of the reaction did not display such generosity: on the contrary, they did not spare the Dissenters any humiliation or annoyance. On the 18th of June, 1672, the followers of the Reformation were forced to be present, with their corporations and the banners of their guilds, at the brilliant Catholic procession organised by the Archbishop of Gran.

Political persecution followed the religious persecution pace by pace. The despair evidenced here and there served to give some resemblance of truth to the false imputation of revolt so cruelly employed against Hungary. In 1672, the imperial council resolved on abolishing officially the dignity of grand palatine, already *de facto* done away with. The person who held it exercised an authority disagreeable to Austrian despotism; death alone could put a stop to it, or a condemnation before the tribunals of the country, which was most difficult to obtain. Hence, it was thought advisable to substitute for this elective magistrate a dependent and revocable governor, and give him a sovereign chamber composed of eight councillors and two secretaries, over which he would preside in lieu of the national Diet. John Gaspard Ampringen, an Hungarian by birth, Prince of the Holy Empire, and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was selected by government, for it was assumed that his origin

would render him less obnoxious to the people. On the 23rd of March, 1673, he was installed at Presburg: he was a harsh and sanguinary man, after the heart of Leopold and the Jesuits. Little did he care about oppressing his countrymen, provided he could secure the favour of the court. A religious and martial chief, he wielded in turn the sabre and the holy water sprinkle, and in every respect suited an ambitious order and a disloyal prince, who spared blood as little as they did holy water.

On his arrival, the fate of Hungary grew worse. All the Lutherans and Calvinists were disarmed, and every Protestant citizen was obliged to receive into his house, and support, three or four German mercenaries—that is to say, lodge the imperial masters. Those sheriffs who were not Catholics were stripped of their functions, which were entrusted to right-thinking men. At Kaschau, the members of the old municipality were imprisoned until the election of a new governing body. Everywhere communal liberty perished equally with religious and political liberty.

The greatest severity was displayed against Reformed ministers and teachers: those of Presburg, tried in May, 1672, by the imperial commission of Tyrnau, were condemned to death.

Three leaders of consistories, with the elders and some pastors of the counties of Zolls, Thurocs, and Lipto, appeared in September, 1673, before the exceptional tribunal at Presburg. George Szeleptsenyi, Archbishop of Gran and lieutenant of the kingdom, presided over the gloomy areopagus. The inculpated were compelled to resign their ministry in writing, and promise to keep up

no relations with the seditious, or quit the country in a fortnight.

At length, all the heretic pastors, schoolmasters, and precentors were summoned to appear at Presburg on the 5th of May, 1675. The Archbishop of Gran again presided at the tribunal, composed of twenty-three members. They had themselves drawn up the process, denounced the accused, and were to decide judicially. All Catholics, and devoted to government, they blew the same horn, to use the simile of a Latin writer. Those who did not appear were instantly condemned, and a price set on their heads, but four hundred wretched men obeyed the edict.* They were charged with innumerable crimes: but the principal heads of accusation imputed to them neglect in worshipping the saints, insults to the Virgin Mary by comparing her to their vile wives (*fœdis uxoribus suis*), trampling under foot the Holy Sacrament and venerable body of Jesus, fomenting revolt by their discourses, and thus violating the rights of the sovereign. The orator divided them into two classes—the state criminals, on whom he demanded a sentence of death and confiscation; and the sacrilegious criminals, whom he considered worthy to perish in the flames, after their feet and hands had been cut off. Attempts were made to support the charge of conspiracy by forged letters, said to have been written by Stephen Wittnyedy of Musai—one to Nicholas Bethlen, in May, 1669; the second to Ambrosius Keczer, a friend of the Tekeli family, on the 30th of December of the

* Erat verò eorum numerus 400, quanquam adversarii non nisi 250 fuisse contendant. (Historia Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ in Hungariâ, p. 30.)

same year, both being dated from Presburg. Although there was no other proof; although Stephen Wittnyedy and Ambrosius Keczer were almost unknown, even by name, to the ministers; although the forger of the letters had convicted himself by calling the Evangelical pastors "preachers," a word the Lutherans never employ to designate their spiritual chiefs; and although the Magyar laws forbade a condemnation on the testimony of one person,—as their fate had been fixed beforehand, they were declared guilty of high treason. The tribunal begged them to recognise their fault and solicit pardon; but, as they could not be induced thus to calumniate their own innocence, two revertible letters were handed them, one of these to be signed by those who wished to remain in the country, the other by those who preferred exile. The two documents had this in common, that the fact of signature was a confession of criminality, and rendered the person liable to the penalties prescribed by the code; but the two classes of victims accepted different conditions. One party swore to abandon their religious duties, be faithful to the prince, and reveal all the machinations of his enemies, and, in return, they obtained the favour of remaining beneath the claw of the tyrant. The others promised to quit the country, with their family and baggage, within a fortnight, never to return to it, and a passport was immediately delivered to them.

One hundred ecclesiastics, in order to avoid greater misfortunes, signed one or other of the documents, in spite of the prickings of their conscience; but the rest, trusting in the purity of their hearts and Divine protection, and not wishing to resign their ministry and appear to approve,

though indirectly, the ruin of their churches and the abolition of their faith, repulsed every offer, braved every threat. They deceived themselves as to the character of their judges. These pitiless valets, who pretended to sustain the cause of God, pronounced sentence of death on the pastors April 4, and on the other accused on the 6th of the same month.

A remnant of shame, however, prevented the execution of the sentence: the Dissenters were kept at Presburg, and further time granted them to sign the declarations. As they persisted in their refusal, four ministers and a teacher were carried to the citadel, their hands loaded with chains, in order to intimidate their companions. This act of rigour having produced no effect, the Lutherans were separated from the Calvinists, and they were all divided between the prisons of the six fortresses. They were treated there more harshly than the assassins and thieves: they were put to fatiguing or disgusting work; scanty food was given them, which could not sustain their strength; their friends could not receive permission to visit them, and they were forbidden to accept money or presents of any nature. Though harshly beaten, deprived of food and drink, and exposed to the rigours of winter, the slightest pretext was employed to torture them in a hundred different ways. This method was soon employed at the French bagnes against the Protestants of that country. In this state of intolerable suffering, twenty-six captives abjured the new faith, while a portion of the rest who remained staunch to their convictions were sent, in March, 1675, along the frontier of Austria, Moravia, Styria, and Carniola to the Adriatic, where they were

sold as convicts, and sent to the galleys at Naples and Venice. A second chain set out in June, and was taken to Trieste and Buccari. We need not say they were treated with pitiless barbarity along the road: a great number carried heavy chains, and felt the stick of the keepers on their shoulders when they walked too slowly. As they had been stripped of the few coins they had hidden in their clothes, the unhappy men could not procure the slightest relief. Many died on the road from fatigue and the brutality of their conductors.*

When they reached the port of Trieste, those who refused to put on the convicts' garb were condemned to three days' fast. What a trial for men exhausted by fatigue, and weakened by the march and privations! Ten prisoners gave way on reaching Buccari, abjured Protestantism, and thus obtained some slight alleviation of their evils. A small number succeeded in making their escape; others were released by the intercession of the Elector of Saxony; while compassionate persons bought others to restore them to liberty. At the beginning of February, 1676, only twenty-eight martyrs remained at Naples; and on the 11th of that month Admiral Ruyter claimed them beneath his triumphant flag, and the government could not refuse his warlike solicitations.

* Hamel Bruyninx, Dutch ambassador at Vienna, narrated the sufferings of the martyrs of 1674 in a special work.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST ATTEMPTED RESISTANCE TO THE CATHOLIC OPPRESSION—FALL OF PRINCE LOBKOWITZ—THE HUNGARIAN INSURRECTION.

THE Jesuits, however, did not gain a continued succession of victories, or see their good fortune growing up under a cloudless sky. An attempt at resistance against the Catholic despotism was soon made, strange to say, by Prince Lobkowitz himself, who, educated in intrigue and camps, soon grew weary of obeying his gowned masters. We have used harsh language towards him, for the oppressor of the Hungarians does not deserve to be spared. History has only bitter words and severe punishment for the man who provokes such calamities. But he was no melodramatic traitor, or gloomy and taciturn person, like the political malefactors of the sixteenth century usually were. The Prince of Lobkowitz was a type of the modern scoundrel. This new actor in the historic drama carries no whistle round his neck, no pistol in his belt, nor black feather in his hat, beneath which he frowns in a bloodthirsty manner. On the contrary, he has a white

shirt and white gloves: he smiles on the ladies, and does the honours of his house; he loves luxury, music, pictures, festivity, singing, and dancing; but he recognises neither faith nor law, knows no pity or scruples. He sells his opinion by auction, like articles of merchandise: for a trifling advantage he would sacrifice an entire population. He is always found an admirer of force or victorious cunning, and outraging or ill treating the conquered. Success and gold are his idols; ambition and cupidity represent conscience to him. He draws up infamous articles to demand proscriptions, and holds out his blood-stained hand for the reward. The man has a wife and children, of whom he speaks with affectionate interest, but would sell them to the highest bidder if the speculation seemed good. His elegant manners and delicate taste are admired, but all the while his heart is a bagnio, in which lie pell-mell the most infernal thoughts.

Wenceslaus Eusebius of Lobkowitz was born in 1606, and belonged to the younger branch of an old Bohemian family, the elder branch of which, converted to Protestantism and staunch in its belief, had been exterminated by Ferdinand II. His father, who embraced the cause of orthodox fanaticism, had risen on the ruin of his country and his relatives. In 1624 the emperor bestowed on him the title of Prince. Eusebius continued this ascending progression towards honours, influence, and riches. At the age of thirty-two he presided in the name of Ferdinand III. over the Bohemian Diet. His opulence was extraordinary, for he ended by amassing a million of money; an enormous sum for that period. In 1665, Leopold appointed him major-domo, or grand master to

the court; to these functions, which ensured him perfect authority in the palace, he joined in 1670 those of prime minister, which gave him the upper hand in state affairs. The shame of the plot formed against the independence of Hungary must be shared between the prince and the foxes of St. Ignatius; but these associates of such different character could not long remain on friendly terms.

Lobkowitz, as we said, was fond of balls and festivals, of gallant adventures, easy manners, and jeux d'esprit. The pharisees of Loyola had imported into Austria the haughty stiffness of Spanish etiquette, and the behaviour of the prince scandalised their hypocritical gravity. The ingenious diplomatist evinced a great predilection for France, and her manners and literature, and advised a union with Louis XIV. The gloomy monks, on the other hand, abhorred the subjects of the great monarch, and fomented the old hatred of the House of Austria against his race. The antagonism of these two political powers was displayed even before the success of their plans; and though the Jesuits soon got the better of their adversary, the superstitious monarch, whose monotonous life and somnolent apathy he enlivened, continually sent for him. The sparkling jests and hearty temper of the minister stirred up the imperial Albino, and put a little heat into his blood, which was frozen like that of reptiles. Unfortunately, the general was naturally indiscreet and open, and his mockery spared none: thus he said one day to the French ambassador, the Marquis de Gremonville, "We have not a prince like yours, who does everything through himself; the emperor is a statue,

whom they carry where they please, and whom they depose whenever they think proper."

Once engaged in a struggle with the crafty order, Lobkowitz did not spare it at all. The most bitter sarcasms fell like hail on these blessed persons. So soon as they laid bare some vulnerable point, the minister attacked it. At one moment the entire brotherhood had to suffer from his warlike humour; at another, one of the members. He employed to annoy them not only words but the designer's art. He had caricatures drawn and engraved, which revealed their apostolic tricks, their court intrigues, their schemes for inheriting, and their matrimonial negotiations. One of the misadventures of the reverend fathers served his satirical temper for a long time. Having debauched some soldiers, they tried to surprise the castle of Riegersdorf, in Lower Styria, which they fraudulently claimed as their property. The mercenaries, therefore, crept by night to the fortress, where the porter, who had been corrupted by the Jesuits, was to give them admission; but the governor of the place had, fortunately, discovered the stratagem. When the cunning band drew near, the perfidious porter, having been attached to the gate, was mercilessly flogged, and filled the valley with his yells, while a few rounds fired haphazard into the darkness accompanied the mournful sound. Nothing more was required to disperse the heroes of St. Ignatius: they took to their heels, avoiding each other, and fancying they saw in every bush an enemy. A plate which Lobkowitz had engraved popularised this nocturnal prowess.

The imperial treasury was always empty, and the

soldiers could only support themselves by plundering the provinces. But the Jesuits could not refrain from coveting the funds Leopold received, and the monarch was weak enough to hand them over without stint. The minister, on several occasions, opposed this inopportune liberality, and tore up several acts of donation, especially that which granted the Spanish order the county of Glatz, in Silesia, and gave them, as guarantee for a sum promised them, the town of Grätz, in Styria. When the insatiable apostles came to ask the head of the cabinet for the official deed, he showed them the letters J. N. R. J., placed above a crucifix, and interpreted them thus: *Jam nihil reportabunt Jesuitæ*—that is, the Jesuits will now carry off nothing. He had carried his malice to such an extent as to draw up his will, which he showed everybody. This jesting document commenced in an humble, contrite, and lamenting tone, then left the reverend fathers, as a sign of affection and repentance, eighty-two thousand—here the bottom of the page was reached, and it was necessary to turn it over; the top of the next page explained the prince's legacy—eighty-two thousand nails to build a new house!

We can easily imagine what hatred these annoyances inflamed in the hearts of the ambitious priests. To mock an implacable order in this way was like playing with poisons, and the minister must eventually succumb. A woman came to the aid of the gloomy troops of the Vatican. The empress died at the commencement of 1673, and Leopold had the choice between two princesses—Claudia of Tyrol and Eleanor of Neuburg—to fill her vacant place. Lobkowitz considered the latter prefer-

able, but the other obtained the diadem. The ex-minister, Auersperg, a mortal enemy of his successor, did not keep the young empress ignorant of the councils of the reigning diplomatist, and this was the foundation of an aversion which the Jesuits were careful to keep up, and which an imprudent act of Lobkowitz changed into profound rancour. The emperor had secretly mentioned to his physician his doubts as to the chastity of the princess before marriage; and the inconsiderate statesman went about publishing Leopold's doubts, and describing the loves of the Tyrolese lady and the Count Ferraris at Innsbruck.

The resentment of a woman and the hatred of the Jesuits were more than one man could endure. The sovereign was induced into the belief that he was wearied of his minister, and a commission was appointed to decide how he should be treated. On the 16th October, 1674, it deliberated the whole night through, and was surprised by daylight. At ten in the morning, when the minister quitted his palace to proceed to the emperor, his carriage was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, and General Prince Pio, captain of the halberdiers, told him, without further ceremony, that he was deprived of all his honours and offices. From that moment he was guarded in his own palace. An imperial decree, which the high chancellor read to him, ordered him to quit the city within three days, and assigned as his residence his castle of Raudnitz, in Bohemia, prohibiting him to go out, or receive, or despatch any letter. He was not to ask or try to discover the motives of this disgrace, under penalty of death and confiscation.

On the morning of the third day, as he displayed no haste to set out, he was placed in an open carriage, escorted by three squadrons of Hulans; and he was driven through the city and across the Danube bridge in the sight of the astonished people, and thus conveyed to Raudnitz. A guard, under the orders of Count Martinitz, was left in charge of him, to prevent him speaking or corresponding with any one, and which did not allow him even a book for amusement. He was soon forgotten, while the Jesuits ruled the emperor like absolute masters.

The exile's witty humour did not desert him during his confinement. He decorated one-half of his room with extraordinary pomp, while the other half was fitted up like a poor cabin: the first, he said, reminded him of his past grandeur, the second of his present misfortune. He wrote on the walls a multitude of epigrams against the Jesuits, and scandalous adventures that had happened to the worthy fathers. Were these sarcasms pleasing to them? We may doubt it: besides, their enemies never lived long. The prince died after two years' incarceration, but his age presupposes a natural death. Besides, what do we care: he had on his conscience the tears of a whole nation, and the blood of numberless victims.

In the mean while, the number of exiles who sought shelter in Transylvania became with each day larger. Through all the valleys and ravines, from all the mountains, came nobles, ministers of the holy Gospel, workmen, labourers, women and children, whom political oppression, the insolence of the troops, and religious persecution expelled from their country. The stories they brought with them heightened the indignation of their

co-religionists and their desire for vengeance, and soon they began counting their strength, and dreaming of an obstinate contest, in which valour might at least punish crime. The elective sovereign of the principality, Michael Apaffy, was fortunately devoted in heart to the Reformation, and not only did the exiles live in safety under his protection, but he sympathised with their wrath, and tacitly seconded their designs. He even authorised one of his great feudatories, the Count of Kovar, Michael Teleky (not to be confounded with Tekeli), to raise troops to reinforce the malcontents. Soon after, he issued pay to the exiles who took up arms. General Spantkau, chief of the imperial troops in Upper Hungary, wrote to the prince complaining of this, and his letter deferred for a short time the declaration of war. But, as he was sustaining the cause of religion and humanity, the voivode took no heed of it; and besides, Austria could not pursue him into his rugged mountains, where a warlike population constantly lived as in an inaccessible fortress.

By August, 1672, the exiles were in a condition to take the field, and on the 29th they entered Hungary, under the command of Petroczy and three other captains, by the county of Marmaros, and, twelve thousand in number, penetrated into the province of Ugocz. So soon as the news of this irruption reached Kaschau, the Austrian general and the governors of thirteen counties put a price on the head of the malcontents: two thalers were offered for a private, one thousand for a chieftain and some lords mentioned by name; while two thousand were offered for any one brought in alive. But the edict

of proscription was of no effect; not a man was tempted by the price of murder or the reward of treason.

The exiles divided into two corps, so that they might arouse the dissatisfied population at various points; one marched north, the other south, and the Pasha of Grosswardein joined the latter with five hundred Spahis. A great number of citizens and peasants armed enthusiastically; the southern division was soon fifteen thousand strong; it joined the other corps by following the banks of the Herned, and the whole army encamped on a plain with no great order, and having no chief. Had not the Hungarians committed this deplorable fault, the Austrian dominion would have been annihilated at the first blow in the Magyar provinces. They were only four leagues from Kaschau (Cassovia), and the imperial generalissimo was unaware of their strength. On the 15th September he sent two hundred horse on a reconnaissance, and followed them with two thousand men, while his whole army was in the rear. The vanguard came upon the left of the Hungarian camp; Petroczy received it, put it to flight, and chased it a long distance; but in their furious course the victors soon came up with General Spantkau leading all his forces to the battle-field.

A terrible contest ensued, in which the exiles displayed the impetuosity and impatient ardour of courage stimulated by resentment. At the end of three hours, however, they began to waver, but the shouts and exhortations of their chiefs restored their bravery. An heroic effort changed the aspect of the struggle, and the wearied Germans gave way in their turn; but Spantkau led up his reserves, and the Magyars gave ground once more. John

Szœts, captain of brigands, who had joined them, then tried a diversion on the left wing, rushed upon the imperial troops, and broke through them with irresistible fury. The Austrians no longer defended themselves, and the carnage began. Their chief considered himself fortunate in escaping the massacre with a small body of horsemen under the shade of night.*

Such was the first engagement in which persecutors and persecuted stood in each other's presence. Kaschau would have fallen into the hands of the patriots, and their victory would have been followed by brilliant results, had they known how to derive advantage from it, and had not the want of a leader caused them to scatter. They soon experienced a defeat, but then fortune again declared in their favour. A great number of towns, among them Bartfeld, Zeben, Saros, Eperies, and Kœsmarkt, joyfully opened their gates to them, and the insolence and cruelty of the Austrian soldiers sent many volunteers to the ranks of the national troops. The Imperialists treated friend as badly as foe; they took everything they wanted, especially horses from the stables, and carriers were compelled to transport their baggage gratuitously for several days in succession. The same impost was raised two or three times; the mercenaries demanded the most delicate fare, and wasted the valuable food unblushingly. The most insulting language and most unmerited outrages accompanied the extortion: any one who dared to resist or did not hasten to obey, received blows, or was threatened with death. The military chiefs formed courts-martial, and passed sentence according to their good pleasure.

* Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn, vol. ix. p. 225.

The German Landsknechts became the object of universal terror, and, to intimidate children and stop their crying, it only needed to say, "Here is the Austrian."

The primary cause of all these evils, the tonsured agents of the Pope, above all, the Jesuits, were not spared by the exiles, nor did they deserve to be so. In 1674, the Hungarians, having captured twenty-two orthodox priests, cut off their ears and noses, and then finished them with their sabres. Generally, however, they were satisfied with flogging the pious labourers in the vineyard, after which they were expelled from the territory; but these reprisals did not at all come up to the barbarity inflicted on the Reformers and pretended rebels. Men who fight for justice, for the independence of nations, and the liberation of the human mind, nearly always display more gentleness, clemency, and charity than their adversaries. The noble maxims they invoke, and with which they adorn their banners, moderate their resentment. Egotism, self-sufficiency, and the hatred of any innovation which inspire their adversaries, render them, on the contrary, violent, ferocious, and pitiless as folly and crime. The moment was not far off when the Jesuits would find an occasion for vengeance: they seized it with such fury, abused it with such cruelty, and invented such frightful punishments, that we should have a difficulty in describing them, even after the hideous scenes we have already depicted.

A powerful ally soon aided the proscripts, strengthened their courage, and kept up their hopes. Absalom Lilienberg, guardian of the young Count Emeric Tekeli, a man very skilful in negotiation, influenced the Marquis

de Bethune, French ambassador to the King of Poland, in their favour; and the marquis, in his turn, gained them the protection of Louis XIV. and John Sobieski. A large number of French emissaries and officers came to assist the Magyars, and as early as 1675 the imperial troops captured several of them among the exiles, and treated them as spies. The Comte de Dampierre fell into their hands in this way: he was a man of stern aspect, whom Nature appeared to have specially intended for war. A thick beard covered his chest, and his face was so hairy that he seemed more like a savage than a French officer. He was taken to Vienna and put to the question, but he endured all the degrees, all the refinement of cruelty, with heroic intrepidity. When his courage had worn the torturers out, he was imprisoned at Neustadt, doubtless to undergo fresh trials. But he opened the veins in his arm with his teeth, and would not suffer a physician to dress them. This stoical death was a menace for the Austrians, as it showed them what French and Hungarians united could do.

Unfortunately, Louis XIV. sent no troops. The Marquis de Bethune merely provided, at his orders, money, arms, and provisions. The Austrian Landsknechts often found French money on the prisoners. Poland, however, supplied the patriots with soldiers. John Sobieski, having formed a treaty with the Turks in 1676, allowed French officers to recruit in his states. A Norman Captain Forval raised in this way six thousand men, paid by the King of France, who were immediately marched on Transylvania. Louis XIV. also paid seven or eight thousand Magyars, and appointed as chief of this corps

d'armée Christophe Ballenduy, Comte de Boham. Two thousand Transylvanians also joined him, for the promise made by the prince that he would invariably support the Hungarians, and never let them want for money or food, attracted numerous volunteers.

Louis XIV. also received Gaspard Czandor, envoy of the Hungarians, as the ambassador of a regular power, and had medals struck, on which he called himself the Liberator of Hungary, in this way continuing the policy followed by Francis I., Henri IV., and Richelieu, who wished, above all, to humiliate the perfidious House of Austria.

The first act of the Comte de Boham was a success; having deceived General Schmidt by false information, he attracted him and four thousand men into an ambuscade, when he surrounded them and cut up more than one half. The commander had extreme difficulty in escaping, after his horse had been killed, and he reached the town of Zathmar accompanied by only a few horsemen.

The count's victory transported General Kopp with fury. He impatiently sought the French captain, and the two armies were soon opposed to each other. As, however, many Hungarians, enrolled by force, marched very unwillingly in the Austrian ranks, at the moment the reactionary army was about to engage in battle, fifteen hundred Magyars quitted the line, and with bugles playing and standards flying, drew up in face of the Imperialists. Despite his rage, Kopp was obliged to abandon his scheme and commence a difficult and dangerous retreat in the presence of the enemy. He lost the whole of his

rear-guard, the commander falling into the hands of the Nationals.

On returning to Kaschau his violence knew no bounds. He sent from village to village, through the thirteen counties, gloomy messengers bearing a blood-stained blade, a wheel, and an impaling stake, with a proclamation addressed to the magnates, gentlemen, citizens, and rustics, in which he threatened to employ one of these three methods, if they had the slightest relations, public or secret, through themselves or their subordinates, with these thieves, brigands, and rebellious incendiaries. The patriots replied to him energetically: "As you menace the thieves with the cord, the assassins with impalement, begin by hanging yourself, ignoble ruffian, or impale yourself by the roadside, that your carcase may serve as a warning to the passers-by." This advice was not of a nature to calm the general; hence, he straightway closed the gates of Kaschau, disarmed the citizens, imprisoned two eldermen, and executed six prisoners of war. These unhappy men, though of noble blood, perished in torments: one was dragged at a horse's tail, strips of skin were torn off his back, and his punishment ended in his being roasted alive. A second underwent the same torments, after having had his right hand first cut off, while the barbarous invention of impaling terminated the existence of the other four. Kopp then issued throughout Hungary an order to follow his example: by such means the House of Austria wished to gain the heart of the Magyars, and introduce into an elective and constitutional kingdom absolute and hereditary power! But who is ignorant that ambition—a pretentious form of egotism,

self-love, and cupidity—is a species of blind rage, against which no specific has yet been found? Although the struggle, envenomed by such excesses, was so horrible, the exiles accepted its conditions. There are moments when even heroes have no choice of arms, or, if they do not wish to give crime an unlimited victory, are obliged to descend with it into blood and wallow, to tear from it the success which would be the future instrument of ruin, oppression, and murder. The malcontents treated their prisoners as the Germans treated those who fell into their hands, and the Turks, gained over to their cause since the death of the Grand Vizir Kiuprili, in November, 1675, and the appointment of Kara Mustapha, seconded their just animosity. The Pasha of Buda ordered the frontier beys, who continually invaded Hungary, no longer to carry off Austrians alive, but to massacre and impale all the conquered.

The war having reached this paroxysm of violence, the orthodox troops spared the population, Catholic and Reformed, less than ever. The emperor, who did not pay his troops, allowed them to commit every atrocity; pillage, assassination, and violation, were their principal occupation. Even the leaders had no hesitation as to carrying off furniture, horses, and food from the castles, houses, and farms. Every German traveller expected to be lodged, fed, and carried gratuitously by the Nationals. A perpetual fear brooded over the unhappy natives; when the arrival of a corps d'armée, or a single regiment, was expected, everybody fled who had the strength to do so. They sought an asylum in the forests, mountains, and caves. The people emigrated in mass beyond the Turkish fron-

tier, where, to the shame of Christians, they found more justice and humanity: villages, nay, entire territories, were deserted. Complaints and reclamations were either dangerous or useless, for they were referred to the armed oppressors, who punished them as acts of rebellion.

These details, and others even more frightful, which I pass over in silence, are not furnished me by the Magyars, or writers hostile to the court of Vienna; two Jesuits, two persecutors and partisans of the House of Austria, narrate them—Wagner, in his Latin history of the Emperor Leopold, and John Korneli, in his Turco-Hungarian Chronicle. As they did not disapprove such horrors, they did not deem it necessary to conceal them, and thus the reaction has borne testimony against itself.

The excess of the evil abridged its duration. The bloody reprisals of the exiles terrified the Germans: soldiers and officers trembled to fall into the hands of their adversaries, and General Kopp was beaten in every engagement. The emperor foreseeing the moment when no one would expose himself to the chances of so terrible a war, was forced to recal his lieutenant, and appoint in his place Count von Würben, with orders to spare the lives of the prisoners in future.

CHAPTER XII.

COUNT TEKELI — INVASION OF AUSTRIA BY THE HUNGARIANS AND TURKS — SIEGE OF VIENNA.

DURING this period the youthful Count Tekeli made his first campaign in the ranks of the patriots. Towards the close of 1677 he brought them two thousand men, and captured, in passing, the town of Nagibania, which the Imperialists had abandoned. This new champion was a man in every way distinguished. His lofty figure, his handsome face, his talent, activity, and kindness attracted attention, and prepossessed in his favour. To these natural gifts, to courage and coolness, he added a precocious experience. Having grown up in misfortune and resentment, he had gone through, from his youth up, the harsh apprenticeship of a military life. He knew, and spoke with equal facility, Hungarian, Latin, German, and Turkish. Of the immense property his family had possessed in Northern Hungary and Transylvania, the latter portion had escaped the emperor's clutches, and assured him the ever precious influence of an immense fortune. His rapidity of concep-

tion, his spirit of organisation, and a firmness of character indispensable in action, destined him to exercise on all sides an irresistible ascendancy.

As soon as he appeared beneath the Hungarian banners, he became the object of all hopes. He was only twenty-one years of age when the retirement of Teleky, owing to his disputes with the French captains, decided the exiles on appointing him their general-in-chief. His first care was to augment his forces, and carry on the war with renewed ardour and decisive measures. A proclamation summoned to arms every individual capable of wielding a sword or bearing a musket, while the scattered bands, fighting without discipline, received orders to join him. In a very short time twenty thousand men assembled, and other squadrons continually joined the army of independence. Tekeli wished to direct these warlike masses alone, as he knew that decision, unity, and rapidity are indispensable in sanguinary contests.

The troops he commanded had, therefore, a numerical superiority over the imperial legions, and the young chieftain traversed in triumph all the north of Hungary and the chain of the Carpathians. The towns were eager to receive him; they helped him in expelling the garrisons, or opened their gates after a pretence at resistance. Confined in an entrenched camp not far from Eperies, General Würben did not dare to try the lot of battle with such an inferior force. He allowed the country around him to be ravaged, even to the walls of Kaschau, and regarded with a sullen eye the smoke of the fires by which the Hungarians signalised their march. The emigrants soon attacked Kremnitz, a town rendered important by the vicinity of

gold and silver mines, and installed themselves without difficulty. In addition to ingots, they found there one hundred and eighty thousand ducats in coined metal, which were of great service to them. By the valleys of the four Hungarian rivers they commanded the road through the plains, and already menaced Presburg, when Leopold concluded an armistice with them; but the negotiations he entered into not being conducted with sincerity, they did not produce a peace. The war, therefore, recommenced more furiously than ever: the excesses committed soon brought on a plague, and this mysterious scourge was joined to human destructiveness. For four years hopeless Hungary endured such sufferings that the mere description of them revolts the mind. What effect must they have produced on contemporaries—what remorse ought these fearful calamities to have aroused in the minds of the persecutors, had they been capable of pity? The Jesuits and councillors of Leopold remained impassible as the sphynxes of the desert.

In 1682, the chief of the insurgents formed a league with the Turks, in order finally to reduce the pride and punish the cruelty of the House of Austria. The grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, on one side, Emeric Tekeli on the other, made tremendous preparations, collected three hundred thousand men, and the fanatic emperor trembled within the walls of Vienna.

During the winter of 1682-1683, the Mussulman hordes assembled at Adrianople; they came in from Asia, Africa, and the confines of the empire; but Europe supplied the most terrible contingent in the Janissaries and Kalmucks. We know exactly the effective strength of the army from

the roll-call found in Kara Mustapha's tent. Two hundred and sixty thousand regular troops at length encamped round the martial vizir, and an immense number of purveyors, servants, and camel-drivers accompanied this noisy and brilliantly attired multitude. The grand seignior himself soon arrived, surrounded by extraordinary pomp, and we may form an idea of his luxury when we know that one hundred carriages conveyed the ladies of the harem.

After a rainy winter the Sultan accompanied the army as far as Belgrade, where it arrived on May 12th. Sixty thousand men joined it at Esseg, under the command of Tekeli; thirty-three thousand Hungarians, twelve thousand Tatars, and fifteen thousand Spahis and Janissaries from Muhammadan Hungary composed this reinforcement, which alone would have terrified Austria. When it had crossed the frontier the warlike multitude advanced like a whirlwind, producing fearful ravages all around: they fired houses, cut down trees, massacred men, and carried off young girls and children to be sold. Columns of flame and smoke everywhere marked their passage.

To oppose this terrific invasion Leopold had under arms but thirty-three thousand men, commanded by a French general, the brave and skilful Charles of Lorraine. In a Diet held at Œdemburg, the magnates devoted to Austria had promised that the Hungarian people should rise as one man; but they found a difficulty in recruiting three thousand. A portion of these troops was intended to garrison Raab, Komorn, and Leopoldstadt, while the rest, about twelve thousand infantry and eleven thousand cavalry, posted themselves to the south-

west of the last town, watching the approach of an enemy so superior in numbers that any thought of resistance was absurd.

The vizir left the Austrian army on his left, and proceeded to lay siege to Raab, in pursuance of the advice of his council of war; but it was a simple demonstration, as he wanted to march on Vienna; and he seized the first favourable opportunity to carry out his design. Charles of Lorraine, who was watching him, detached his infantry to the capital by the island of Schutt, a spacious terrain, isolated by two arms of the Danube. To have engaged in action would have been to butcher his troops, and it was a hundred-fold better to shelter them beneath the walls of Vienna and reinforce the garrison. The prince himself retired slowly with his cavalry by Altenburg and Kitsee, but, not far from Petronell, a detachment of fifteen thousand Tatars suddenly attacked him. Struck with terror, the Germans broke their lines, and many of them even took to flight. The Kalmucks immediately carried off a portion of the baggages, more especially the plate, which the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, the Duke de Croy, and General Caprara dragged after them, after the fashion of the age. Charles of Lorraine and his staff, rendered desperate by this catastrophe, threw themselves into the midst of their troops, and by their energy, activity, and coolness succeeded in restoring order. The Mussulmans were held in check, and at last bravely repulsed; but the young Duke d'Aremberg, and Louis of Savoy, elder brother of the celebrated Prince Eugene, were left for dead on the field. The victorious detachment was obliged to continue its retreat.

On the same day some fugitives reached the capital and spread the report that the infidels had exterminated all the Austrian regiments. Leopold, advised, so we are told, by one of his ministers, resolved to abandon the city immediately, and his only care was to accelerate his departure. The august evasion commenced at eight in the evening, and the Empress Eleanor of Neuburg, who was then in an interesting situation, accompanied the emperor with the heir presumptive to the throne, a lad of five years of age, the Aulic councillors, and all the personnel of the court. The trembling camarilla proceeded, with tears in their eyes, to take leave of the burgomaster Liebenberg; and the immense procession then crossed the Danube and proceeded along the left bank to Linz, two hundred horsemen galloping round the imperial carriage. The terror displayed by the monarch having affected all the nobility and citizens with few exceptions, the upper classes only thought of flight. For six hours the carriages carrying off the Viennese aristocracy defiled over the Danube bridge. Several of them, only anxious for their own safety, took nothing with them; others overloaded their vehicles, and in their terror fatigued their horses so greatly that they fell down dead. Surprised by the Turks, these greedy people were put to death, and all those who proceeded to the south shared the same fate. In two days sixty thousand persons abandoned the city, and as there were no means of carriage left, many timid men were obliged to remain in it, and await the enemy's arrival with tears and prayers.*

* Mailath: Geschichte der Stadt Wien, pp. 192-3.

Such were the feelings of heroism the Habsburgs managed to enkindle around them.

At the first station, the little town of Korneuburg, the reigning family could see in the distance the flames devouring the Calmaldolese monastery, situated on the Kahlenberg, and fired by Turkish marauders. Separated from their baggage, the fugitives could scarcely procure enough eggs to make a breakfast, so great was the confusion. The second day they reached Krems amid perpetual alarms; Tatar squadrons plundered the country with extraordinary boldness, and the peasants collected on the monarch's route, and addressed the most insulting reproaches to him. On the day after his departure, Prince Charles of Lorraine entered the capital at the head of his cavalry, to the sound of the bugles and cymbals. His arrival, and the succour he brought up, revived the drooping courage of the Viennese. A short time after the imperial treasure was embarked on the Danube, and carried to Linz.

On the 12th of July all the Turkish forces appeared in sight of the capital; the flames, which drew nearer, and nearly formed a circle round the city, had announced their arrival some days previously. On the morning of the 12th the Spahis advanced in a half-moon, and surrounded Vienna to the south and west. When midday struck, a strong detachment reached the faubourgs. Starhemberg, the governor, had made all preparations for firing them; he gave orders for the torches to be applied, and a smart cannonade opened on the Turks. All the suburban buildings were sacrificed, in spite of the value of some of them; but this necessary sacrifice nearly

caused the destruction of the city. A strong westerly wind suddenly drove the flames against the enceinte of palisades and the piles of beams collected behind them, and only immense exertions prevented the houses behind the wall catching fire. On the evening of the same day Prince Charles's infantry entered the city from the north.

On the morning of the 14th, the rising sun illuminated the twenty-five thousand tents that formed the camp of the infidels, and in the centre the grand vizir's tent could be noticed, owing to its brilliancy and dimensions. It was green, and contained several rooms for meals, sleep, prayers, feasts, and councils; rich carpets covered the lateral walls and floor; it contained sparkling fountains, baths, menagerie, and garden; silk, velvet, gold, and silver glistened in profusion, while the diamonds and pearls ornamenting portions of it were valued at a million of florins. The same luxury distinguished the tents erected for the Aga of the Janissaries, the principal Emirs of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the Hospodars of the Danubian Principalities, the Voivode of Transylvania, and, lastly, for the first instigator of this formidable expedition, Emeric Tekeli.

This spectacle produced terror and disquietude throughout the city, for the garrison, reckoned man by man, only amounted to twenty-one thousand nine hundred and sixty combatants. All those, however, capable of bearing arms were attached to the regulars; the students formed a legion seven hundred strong, commanded by the rector of the university; the higher class of citizens furnished two thousand eight hundred and thirty-two volunteers;

and the shoemakers, innkeepers, butchers, and brewers—in short, the several guilds—furnished battalions proportioned to their importance. The servants of the court, active or pensioned, formed a corps of one thousand men, but these contingents were weakness itself when compared with the forces investing the town, the Turks having an army sixteen times more powerful.

From the beginning of the year, however, precautionary measures had been taken, in recollection of the siege of 1529. An impost of one per cent. had been laid on the nobility and clergy, and every house in Vienna and the suburbs had furnished one man to work on the fortifications. Each inhabitant was enjoined to lay in provisions for a whole year, or else to leave the city. The hillocks and buildings commanding the city had been razed, and thirty thousand palisading pikes prepared. The arrival of the barbarians stimulated the zeal and heightened the activity of the population, and they rushed to the ramparts. The burgomaster Liebenberg set the example, and was the first to wheel a barrow of earth. By the 16th, two hundred guns bristled on the walls; the monks abandoned their monasteries and neglected their psalms in order to lend a hand. The population, in fact, resembled a ship's crew beaten by the storm, and threatened with approaching ruin. All the shingle roofs were removed, and four hundred citizens enrolled to put out the fires caused by shells and bombs. The powder was buried in cellars and the crypts of churches, and every opening not absolutely necessary was walled up. The Jesuits kept night and day two vedettes on the cathedral to observe the enemy's movements: they, who were the primary causes of the

invasion, could thus judge with their own eyes the effects of their cruel manœuvres.

Still the Turks continued their hostile operations. General Schulz occupied with a detachment the Leopoldstadt suburb, but on the 17th the infidels expelled him, and the capital from that moment was completely invested. The followers of the Prophet had brought with them a large siege train, and were, besides, very skilful in digging mines. Every day, at the least, one explosion blew up some outwork, and the Islamites rushed straight at the breach, escaladed the smoking ruins, and reached the top of the walls, where they often planted their horse-tail standards. A terrible struggle and indomitable bravery were required to keep them in check, and drive them from the ramparts. On the 23rd of August they penetrated into the castle bastion, and on the 26th forty Janissaries, who forced their way into the city, were killed by General Scharfenberg.

The governor, fortunately, displayed incomparable bravery and invincible firmness. By night or by day he was ever visible, and he hardly snatched a few hours' necessary rest between two sunrises. He had an admirable auxiliary in Leopold Kolonicz, an ex-chevalier of Malta, who, after creating amazement by his heroism at the siege of Candia, had grown disgusted of fighting, taken holy orders, and wore the mitre as Bishop of Neustadt. On the approach of the Mussulmans, the smell of powder having rekindled his warlike ardour, he ran to shut himself up in Vienna. He performed there the duties of civil governor, attended to the hospitals, took care of the wounded, strengthened the hearts of the dying, even

under grape-shot, watched over the commissariat, directed the extinction of fires, employed old men, women, and children in indispensable, though safe labours; and, lastly, spread around him his own calm and intrepid valour. The situation of the city, however, was most precarious, and it seemed irrevocably doomed. In hours of supreme anxiety the governor would mount the steeple of St. Stephen, where he found the Jesuits on the watch. The keeper still points out the stone on which he was wont to sit, and whence he sorrowfully surveyed the prodigious camp of the Turks.

The population was not very favourable to the disciples of Loyola, for it accused them of having decided on and organised the persecution, reduced the Hungarians to despair, and thus brought beneath the walls of the capital this formidable invasion, which threatened all Western Europe at the same time as Austria.

But Vienna was not fated to fall into the power of the infidels, nor the Habsburgs to lose their crown; the empire and themselves were saved by one of those miraculous chances which astounded politicians two hundred years ago, and which have since, more than twenty times, held the Austrian government back when on the edge of an abyss.

CHAPTER XIII.

DELIVERANCE OF VIENNA BY CHARLES OF LORRAINE AND JOHN SOBIESKI—INGRATITUDE OF THE IMPERIAL COURT.

AFTER arranging the defence of the capital against Starhemberg, Charles of Lorraine went out of the city to collect his troops and then return to disengage it. Since the month of May an alliance had been concluded between the emperor and the King of Poland: the latter promised to supply sixty thousand combatants, the former forty thousand. John Sobieski had been persuaded to this political union by his wife, Maria Casimire de la Grange, daughter of the Marquis d'Arquien. Having asked Louis XIV. for the title of duke and peer for her father, and not obtaining it, she avenged herself by turning the arms of her husband against the Turks, for the advantage of Leopold. All the electors and princes of Germany were summoned to assist their suzerain, and all responded, save the Marquis of Brandenburg, in spite of his great military renown. Austria assembled under her banners twenty-seven thousand men; Poland, twenty-six

thousand; Saxony furnished eleven thousand four hundred; Bavaria, eleven thousand three hundred; and the circles of Franconia and Suabia, eight thousand four hundred. These various troops formed a grand total of eighty-four thousand eight hundred men, of whom thirty-eight thousand seven hundred were infantry, and forty-six thousand one hundred cavalry, with one hundred and eighty-six guns. The Federal army tried several successful operations prior to marching on Vienna.

What was Leopold doing while the fate of his empire and his family depended on the chances of a terrible war? Was he striving to conjure the misfortunes that threatened him, or displaying an activity worthy of his exalted fortune? Was he watching over the safety and welfare of the peoples whom, since his coronation, he had governed in a manner daily growing more imperious? No: all his solicitude was for his august person. He had scarce reached Linz than a courier arrived with the false information that the Turks had passed Vienna and were apparently marching on the refuge where he lay hid. Recommencing his terrified course, the valiant despot did not halt till he reached Passau, on the Bavarian territory. During two months, which were a holiday for him, he amused himself on the banks of the Traunsee, in that magnificent country called the "Salzkammergut;" he busied himself with medals, watches, and curiosities, thus following the example of his ancestor Rudolph; he modelled, and carved fancy tapers, and invented chronograms. Being slightly reassured by August 25, he returned to Linz with his consort and the Aulic Council.

The hour had arrived to succour Vienna, if the Turks

were not to become the masters of that city; and the allies crossed the Danube at Tuln, which the Mussulman general had been so foolish as not to occupy. It was the 7th of September. The mountains of the Wiener Wald, which they were obliged to cross, would have been fatal to the Christians if the Mussulmans had posted troops in their narrow gorges, and mounted artillery on the heights; but with the carelessness of barbarians, they had taken none of these measures. On the evening of the 11th the Federals gained the front of the hills without the loss of a man; and on the summit of the Leopoldsberg they unfurled a large red flag adorned with a white cross, which was saluted by the Viennese as a promise of deliverance. An inexpressible joy reigned in the city, and the inhabitants crowded to the ramparts. Anxiety, fatigue, and illness daily carried off from thirty or forty citizens, the garrison had lost six thousand men, the price of provisions was fourfold, and the Turks gained ground every day: it was time to put an end to this.

At nightfall a horseman swam across the Danube to bear a note to the Duke of Lorraine. "Do not delay, dear lord," Starhemberg wrote him; "do not lose a moment." Rockets fired from the cathedral seemed to repeat this entreaty in their splendid hieroglyphics. Other rockets whizzed through the air in response, and then guns were fired from the mountain. The nearest battery returned this military salute to the liberators, and several hundred thousand men passed the night in restless and solemn expectation.

When day broke on the 12th of September, a thick autumn fog half veiled the mountain crests, becoming

more dense on their flanks, and concealing the plains and the Danube. The belfry of St. Stephen stood out vaguely in this sea of fog. As the vapour gradually cleared away a majestic picture lay expanded before the allies: they saw in the distance the ruined walls of the city, the trenches of the infidels, who continued their siege operations as if certain of repulsing the Germanic battalions, and, in the foreground, one hundred thousand men ranged in battle array.

All the Federal princes proceeded to the Leopoldsberg chapel, where the Capuchin, Marco Aviano, confessor and friend of the reigning monarch, celebrated mass. In addition to John Sobieski and his son James, who was dubbed knight by his father after the divine service; besides Charles of Lorraine, the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave Louis of Baden, who, at a later date, became so famous, the Count Sylvanus Caprara, and the Prince of Salm—a young nobleman of short stature and delicate countenance, might be noticed; he was not yet twenty, and was going to fight for the first time that day—he who would command all the forces of Austria for half a century, gain an immortal glory, and shine in history as the most skilful general that power ever placed at the head of her troops—it was Prince Eugene of Savoy. As Louis XIV. had refused him a regiment, he now passed into the service of the Habsburgs. Like Charles of Lorraine, whom the injustice of the King of France had also attached to Leopold, he had studied to enter the Church. The three most important persons in the army, the three liberators of the emperor, were, therefore, now collected

on the Wiener Wald, in consequence of a triple fault committed at Versailles.

When all the ceremonies were terminated, five guns gave the signal for attack, and the regiments and squadrons descended the slope of the hill in the rosy light of dawn. With their banners and various costumes they formed an imposing and picturesque sight. The left wing was commanded by the Duke of Lorraine, the centre by the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince of Waldeck, and the right wing by John Sobieski. The trumpets and cymbals made the sky ring again, and awoke all the slumbering echoes of the mountains.

A sharp cannonade and the sound of musketry soon announced that the action had commenced near the Danube, to the left of the allies. The Mussulmans occupied Neudorf, and had entrenched themselves in the houses and gardens, but the Imperialists dislodged them, and compelled them to fall back on Heiligenstadt, whence they were once more driven. In vain did Osman Oglou, Pasha of Mesopotamia, make five desperate charges; the Christians repulsed the Ottoman hordes energetically. They, however, in their turn, were held in check by an enormous battery erected near Döbling, above a hollow way, which decimated the German battalions and covered the ground with corpses. The battle lasted no less than seven hours, but the Imperialists and Saxons at length carried this terrible position. The right wing of the Islamites was then driven in and routed. At five in the evening the infidels gave up the combat and sought their safety in flight.

The victors pushed straight on till they reached the

city wall. The Margrave Louis of Baden arrived at the Scotch gate, at the head of his dragoons and with trumpets braying: Starhemberg came to salute him there, and promised to make a sortie immediately at another part of the battle-fields.

The Bavarians in the centre, and the Poles on the right wing, had to contend with difficulties of ground, and pass through forests; hence they did not commence the attack till mid-day. Sobieski found himself in front of an important redoubt, which stopped him short, for the celebrated cavalry which formed the greater portion of his army could not attempt an escalade or carry entrenchments; hence they received the enemy's fire without moving. The Austrian and Bavarian regiments, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck, were obliged to come to the rescue. They carried the great Turkish redoubt; and the Polish squadrons, freed from this obstacle, rushed on the enemy with redoubled fury. They penetrated into the Islamite camp, where they joined the Imperialists, at about six in the evening.

The rout of the Muhammadans had become general, and, seized with terror, they fled in every direction. Their chief resisted for half an hour longer near St. Ulric, but was then hurried off the field. The soldiers who occupied the trenches, wishing to hold their own, fell beneath the sword or balls of the conquerors, and the Imperial dragoons and Polish lancers pursued the scattered bands of fugitives till nearly nightfall.

Sobieski and Charles of Lorraine ordered their troops to rest under arms through the night, so as to be ready to repulse any fresh attack, and on the next day they

handed over the camp of the infidels to the victorious troops.

They gained an extraordinary booty: three hundred and seventy guns, a multitude of standards, fifteen thousand tents, in many of which the last meal had been served up, one hundred thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand oxen, ten thousand sheep, five thousand camels ready loaded, and immense munitions of war and food, became the prey of the Germans and Poles. Gold, silver, ornaments, and objects of value, were so abundant that the troops left a portion for the Viennese. The latter rushed out at full speed by the gates and breaches to have their share of the plunder. Many sought amid the ruins for the remains of their houses, and had a difficulty in discovering the site; but the cellars were crammed with wares which enabled the proprietors to rebuild the houses. John Sobieski received, as his share, Kara Mustapha's tents, which occupied, as he himself says, a space as large as Warsaw or Leopol. He found in them countless riches; among others, splendid horse trappings, girdles, and quivers adorned with rubies and sapphires. Five hundred Christian children, whom the Turks had torn from their parents but had not been able to carry off in their flight, were the share of the Bishop Kolonicz, to whom the courageous priest devoted paternal attention.

Coffee was the most abundant thing in the Islamite camp, and from that time the use of the beverage became general among the Viennese. A Pole of the name of Kollschutzky, having on several occasions braved death during the siege to carry messages to the Duke of Lor-

raine, was authorised to open a shop, where amateurs came to drink the decoction ready prepared.

On the evening of the battle, Charles of Lorraine deputed his adjutant, Count Auersperg, to the emperor to announce the victory: since August 25th, the emperor, having partially recovered from his fears, resided at Linz. He embarked on the Danube and landed at Nussdorf, and on the morning of the 14th of September he mounted a splendid horse and made a solemn entry into the capital, after traversing the Islamite camp to the peals of the bells and the hoarse growling of the cannon. In front of the Stuben gate, the same through which he had fled on the 7th of July, the municipal council offered him the keys of the city, and Leopold went straight to thank God for a victory to which he had contributed so little, the Bishop Kolonicz singing the *Te Deum* at the cathedral. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony then dined with the emperor.

The King of Poland was not present at the festivities. He, too, had made his entry into the capital the previous evening, and heard mass in the church of the Augustines; but he found it necessary to conduct his army away from the city immediately. The uncleanliness of the Turks, the filth of every description, the numerous corpses, and the excessive autumnal heat, had rendered the suburbs pestiferous; vermin and flies swarmed there. Sobieski took up a position at the town of Swechat, while the Duke of Lorraine was also obliged to fly the bad atmosphere, and encamp his troops at Mansdorf.

On the 15th an interview was to take place between

the two monarchs, but Leopold experienced grave scruples on this occasion. Sobieski, after all, was only an elective king, and an hereditary monarch could not act with too much circumspection, lest he might compromise his dignity. "How ought I to receive him?" the prince asked the Duke of Lorraine. "Why, how should you receive him, except with open arms," the French general replied, "as he saved you?" But etiquette gained the victory over gratitude; one point especially tormented Leopold: should he give his right hand to his liberator? The ceremonial allowed him this condescension to hereditary kings, but the Emperors of Germany had never yet thus honoured an elective monarch. The prevision of these absurd pretensions had partly contributed to the rapid retirement of the Polish sovereign. It was at last decided that the princes should meet on horseback, which would dispense with the necessity of shaking hands. They advanced towards each other at a hand gallop, and saluted simultaneously. A letter of Sobieski contains a description of the interview, and his testimony in such a case must be authoritative:

"The Elector of Bavaria alone accompanied Leopold, the Elector of Saxony having already left him. Fifty persons on horseback, ministers and officials of the court, formed his suite. Trumpeters preceded him, and a company of Guard and ten footmen walked behind him. I will not draw the portrait of the emperor for you, as you know it so well. He was mounted on a Spanish bay, wore an embroidered doublet, a French hat adorned with an agrafe and red and white plumes, a baldric in which

diamonds and rubies glistened, and a sword equally rich. I paid him my compliments in Latin, and in a concise manner; he replied in the same idiom, with phrases already prepared. Finding ourselves thus face to face, I presented my son to him, who advanced and saluted him. The emperor did not even lift his hand to his hat: I stood as if terrified. Leopold showed himself equally stiff towards the senators and hetmans, and even more towards his relative, the Prince Palatine of Betz. To avoid the scandal and remarks of the crowd, I addressed a few more words to the sovereign, and then turned my horse; we saluted, and I went back to camp. The Voivode of Gallicia led the emperor through my army, according to his wish; but our soldiers were irritated by his haughtiness. They complained bitterly because he did not deign to display the least gratitude for their fatigues and privations, not even by simply lifting his hat. Since his departure all seems to have suddenly changed, and we appear not to know one another. They give us neither forage nor provisions; the Pope sent money for that purpose, which the Abbé Buonvisi has received, but the priest is retained at Linz."

Let us raise the veil fully from this monstrous ingratitude. Sobieski adds: "We are treated as if plague-stricken: everybody avoids us; while before the battle, my tents, which are spacious enough, thank Heaven, could scarce hold the throng of visitors. Not the least curious thing that has happened to us here is, that we do not know what we are about to do. It would have been proper, I think, to ask me how I propose to carry on the

war; but no one says a word to me. Everybody is disheartened; we wish we had never helped the emperor, but that this haughty race had been eternally confounded." The Elector of Saxony, not less insulted than the King of Poland, had already set out with his troops.

Starhemberg, the defender of Vienna, was alone treated as his services deserved. The emperor made him field-marshal, minister of state, and member of the Aulic Council. The valiant captain was also presented with an hotel, a precious ring, and one hundred thousand thalers, and was authorised to place in his armorial bearings the spire of St. Stephen, a wall, and a gilded L, initial letter of the word Leopold. The King of Spain sent him the collar of the Golden Fleece, and the Pope a letter of congratulation. Kolonicz obtained, in reward of his zeal and courage, the Roman purple.

The revolting ingratitude of Leopold was doubtlessly the work of the clerical party. The Spanish order wished to retain the mastery of the monarch, and allow no influence to outvie theirs. The liberators of Austria would have become the most important persons in that country, if the prince had evinced towards them that gratitude which they had the right to hope. Starhemberg alone was not dangerous: he was suddenly raised from a mediocre to an eminent position. The Jesuits, by the very extent of the favours conferred on him, rendered him their creature.

The Polish hero was accused of desiring the throne of Hungary for his son James, and this imputation deeply affected him. But who imagined it? For what object

was such a report spread? It was employed as a weapon to gain a secret object. The Duke of Lorraine, against whom no suspicion was manifested, was no better treated. "The poor devil," the King of Poland wrote, "has neither the spoils of the enemy nor any gratification from the emperor."

CHAPTER XIV.

RETREAT OF THE TURKS—THEIR EXPULSION FROM HUNGARY.

THE Hungarians had only taken a very indirect part in the siege of Vienna; and, profiting by the occupation the Turks gave the Germans, Tekeli sought to extend his conquests in his native country. With twenty thousand Magyars and eight thousand Turks, he tried to carry the castle of Presburg, energetically defended by the Imperialists. Although the city was in the enemy's power, Charles of Lorraine succoured the fortress in time, and foiled the exertions of the Turks and patriots. The latter then threw themselves upon Moravia, and plundered it to such an extent that it did not recover for a lengthened period. But the defeat of the grand vizir forced Tekeli to beat a retreat, and seek an asylum on Ottoman soil.

The conquered fled without stopping till they reached Raab, leaving behind them baggage and wealth. Mustapha only carried off the clothes in which he stood upright. At length he made a stand near Gran, where he collected the remnants of his army, and sent in a report to the com-

mander of the faithful. He attributed his defeat to the cowardice and ignorance of the Pasha of Buda, brother-in-law of the grand seignior, and to the treachery of Tekeli; and, in order to render any proof of the accusation unnecessary, he strangled Ibrahim and fifty other military chiefs. The same punishment would have terminated the days of his ally, but the Hungarian took the precaution to be constantly on his guard. Tekeli refuted, in a letter to Muhammad IV., the calumnious imputations of the vizir, explained all the faults he had committed, and threw on him the entire responsibility of the catastrophe. His justification, supported by the aga of the Janissaries and the other captains, obtained entire credence, and the widow of Ibrahim demanded the punishment of the murderer. The Divan pronounced a capital sentence upon him, and on the 25th of December he was bow-strung at Belgrade, where he was collecting troops for a new expedition. The mosque he had built before his departure, to gain the favour of Heaven, covered his remains.

Five years later, when the Austrians took Belgrade, the Jesuits converted the mosque into a church. One night seven Christian soldiers forced their way in and opened the general's tomb, for the purpose of carrying off his garments and jewellery. Two reverend fathers surprised them, but the Landsknechts did not at all disguise their views. The Jesuits made no disturbance, allowed the marauders to carry off their booty, but kept the skull of the punished man as their share. Kara Mustapha, during the siege of Vienna, had sworn that he would cut off the head of Kolonicz and send it to the grand seignior,

but his own served as a present. The Jesuits offered it to the Bishop of Neustadt, who handed it over to the Viennese. The regency ordered it to be deposited in the arsenal, where curious persons still examine it.

The very flight of the Turks had been injurious to the Christian populations. During their stay on Austrian ground they had destroyed four thousand and ninety-two villages round Vienna, and eight hundred and seventy-one in the environs of Presburg; four thousand carts carrying provisions, sent from Buda, and which reached the camp on the 29th of July, repassed the Mussulman frontier loaded with women, girls, and boys, reduced to a state of slavery. All those whom the Mussulman hordes could seize during their flight experienced the same fate. According to a contemporary MS., 57,220 persons of all ages were carried off by the Turks—6000 old men, 11,215 married women, 14,922 girls, among them 204 belonging to the higher nobility, and 26,093 infants of both sexes, from four to five years of age, formed this lamentable troop, this army of exile and slavery.* Romance writers seek for dramatic subjects; where can they find any more varied and more striking than in history? What a subject, for instance, is the fate of these maidens, noble, delicate, charming, educated with care, and surrounded with luxury and attention; then, suddenly torn from their families, carried to a distant country, sold at a bazaar, and surrendered to the will of ignorant, stupid, and imperious purchasers! what pathetic and original scenes from the beginning of the invasion! what misery and insults!

* Auguste Schimmer: Les Siéges de Vienne par les Turcs.

what painful and unexpected catastrophes troubled the heart and changed the existence of these poor ladies!

Leopold made no long stay in his delivered capital. On the morning of the 16th he returned to Linz, where he remained ten months, while the traces of the invasion were effaced, the streets cleansed, the ruins removed, the houses and hotels rebuilt, and the castle renovated. The only part of royalty he accepted was the joy, the splendour, the power of commanding, and the adulation. The idea never occurred to him that his title imposed duties on him; far from considering himself the servant of the nation, the highest public functionary, twenty million beings appeared to him born to satisfy his pride, flatter his passions, and provide for his comfort and his pleasures —such was the sole object of their existence.

The manœuvres of the Jesuits, and their system of conversion and oppression, had drawn on Austria that frightful tempest which almost overwhelmed the House of Austria. A prodigious piece of good fortune occurred once more to save it; but this extraordinary fortune ought not to have been calculated on; the miracle might not have happened, and then the imperial family would have been punished, and the responsibility of its ruin would have weighed entirely on the cruel order that counselled it. This remark bears important reference to the morality of history. Many crimes, doubtlessly, succeed; but these crimes are necessarily daring actions, desperate strokes which fortune does not always favour. If they fail, disgrace and misfortune chastise the culprits; but neither esteem nor pity softens their ignominious fall.

Six weeks after the deliverance of Vienna, John Sobieski, Charles of Lorraine, and Count Starhemberg set out to continue the military operations. My readers will perhaps feel surprised that the King of Poland should continue to serve the emperor; the ingratitude and dryness of Leopold would have disgusted the most generous heart, the least sensitive mind, and completely justified his departure. The Queen of Poland insisted that he should leave the stupid emperor, but important considerations, which he himself stated in a letter to his wife, prevented him returning his sword to its sheath: "Our interests," he said, "order us, in the first place, to attack an enemy who would seek us in Poland, were he not occupied here. In the second place, no one ever took an oath more solemn than mine, when I swore to the cardinal legate not to abandon my ally. Thirdly, the emperor, were I to retire, would come to terms with the Turks at my expense. Fourthly, the Christian armies chose me as their generalissimo, and even if the Polish army had quitted me I should have remained, and have finished the campaign with the imperial, Bavarian, and German troops. Those are very badly intentioned who wish to send us back to our country; it would be the way to devastate it, and render it unable to pay the taxes." The ill-disciplined bands of the period in reality were accustomed to pillage friend and foe, and spare their native provinces as little as they did foreign countries.

The Christian army marched on Gran, the strongest place in all Hungary. It commands the Danube, and, by means of a bridge thrown across the river, communicates with a fortified suburb, or second citadel, which

renders the approach to the town difficult: it is called Parkany. The King of Poland marched with the vanguard. He encountered the Mussulman hordes sooner than he expected, fought alone against forces far superior in number; was obliged to fly after a loss of two thousand men, and only escaped an Ottoman scimitar by a miracle. It was not long, however, before he took his revenge: the next day the allies advanced in deep lines on Parkany, and a considerable army awaited them in the plain. The mêlée was terrible, but the infidels had the disadvantage everywhere. Gradually the Christians encircled them, drove them back on the river, and commenced a frightful butchery. Parkany, carried by main force, could not shelter the conquered: they rushed upon the wooden bridge, which gave way beneath the tremendous weight. The piled-up corpses formed on the bank of the Danube a species of parapet a fathom in height, while those which the piles of the bridge stopped composed in their turn a bleeding jetty, by which three or four thousand men escaped. Twenty thousand Turks perished on the day when the Germans and Poles relieved Vienna, but a still greater number were massacred on the 9th of October.

When the action was over, Tekeli appeared on the mountains with forty thousand Hungarians, but could only verify with his own eyes the triumph of his enemies.

After four days' siege, Gran surrendered on October 28th, and the King of Poland immediately ordered a mass to be celebrated in the cathedral of St. Stephen, where Allah had been invoked for one hundred and forty years.

He was himself astonished that so strong a place surrendered so quickly. This prompt success produced others: a number of Magyars retired from the struggle, and the counties of Trentschin, Tyrnau, and Neitra gave in their submission. Numerous castles mounted in turn the Austrian flag; the strong town of Levens received General Dunewald, and Neuhausel, separated from the Turks, was an infallible prey reserved for the spring. The bad weather would not allow a prolongation of the campaign: during the siege the rain had washed away the roads, and the snow now fell from a grey and leaden sky, or whirled around in the icy blast. The troops must go into winter quarters: the Imperialists established themselves on the banks of the Danube; the Poles encamped on the banks of the Theiss, and occupied the countries of Eperies and Tokay. Sobieski tried in vain to reconcile the Hungarians and their chief Tekeli with the emperor. Exorbitant demands on one side, want of confidence on the other, rendered the conclusion of a durable peace almost impossible.

During the negotiations, the army of Lithuania arrived like a stream of barbarians. As it had not set out early enough to take part in the campaign, it substituted pillage and destruction for the services it did not render. Hungary was sacked with as much cruelty as if infidels inhabited the provinces. Irritated by this violence and depredation, Tekeli attacked the Poles, and did not grant them a moment's rest. Peasants or soldiers fired on them from every house, out of every thicket. Sobieski was broken-hearted. Urged by his wife to return, threatened with utter desertion by his troops, exposed to the revenge

of the Hungarians whom he loved, and disgusted by the ingratitude of the emperor, he at length marched homeward, where he arrived at the end of December.

Charles of Lorraine, first, and then Prince Eugene of Savoy, continued his glorious enterprise, while he seconded it remotely by attacking the Mussulman troops through Bessarabia and Moldavia. The two generals took Buda, crushed the Ottoman army at Mohacz in 1687, and tore the whole of Hungary from the Sultan. Europe was for ever delivered from fear of the Turks, but became the prey of the Jesuits.

Unhappy Hungary had no allies left. The King of Poland considered himself pledged to the House of Austria by the oath he had taken to it; the Islamites, incessantly defeated, could not help her; and Louis XIV. was weak and base enough to sacrifice her. In July, 1684, he concluded the truce of Ratisbon, which was to last for twenty years, with the two branches of the Austrian House, the German and the Spanish. Père Lachaise, his confessor, and the bigoted Le Tellier, darkened his intellect, and gradually metamorphosed him into a docile instrument. A year after this deplorable victory they gained a second in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Austrian system was applied in France: the destruction of churches, the exile of ministers, the dragonnades, emigration prohibited under the penalty of confiscation, children torn from their parents, the slow death of the galleys for the refractory, the whip and the searing-iron for the women; ruin, threats, and death, employed as means of persuasion, the gibbet, axe, and wheel, as means of execution—proved that the Jesuits considered their

method excellent, and wished to make all nations profit by it, had they not been stopped by invincible obstacles. Twelve hundred thousand Frenchmen quitted their country, and aroused Europe to indignation by the sight of their misfortunes, while enriching it by their talents and industry. At the same time the perfidious order incited James II., who had just mounted the throne, to try in the British Isles the infernal work begun in France, and which had perfectly succeeded in Austria. The prince only acted on the advice of these intriguing priests; the ambassador of Spain made him, one day, some representations on this head: "I thought," said James, "that it was the custom in Spain for the king always to take the opinion of his confessor?" "Without doubt," the Castilian replied, "and that is the reason matters go on so badly among us." But the resolution was formed; the stake was being prepared, fanaticism was sharpening the axe, and judicial murderers dishonoured the court and enriched the magistrates.

In Hungary the cruelty of the Jesuits was allowed free rein: so soon as the victories of the French generals and of the King of Poland delivered that hapless country, like a field of carnage, to the mournful operators, nothing was heard but the grinding of bolts, the noise of the sword decapitating the heretics and the nobles, the cries of maidens treated harshly, and the plaints and maledictions of terrified families.

As the talents, bravery, and renown of Tekeli, and the attachment the Hungarians displayed towards him, might still make him formidable at any moment, he was rendered harmless by a most adroit trick, which reveals con-

summate experience. The important fortress of Neuhausel had fallen into the hands of the Germans. Eperies had surrendered, and the imperial troops were marching on Kaschau. The Turks had received such terrible blows that their alliance was growing unprofitable; besides, they had never wished to employ Tekeli, except to augment their territory, or fortify their authority. The Voivode of Transylvania was behaving equivocally, and tergiversating between the Hungarians and the court of Vienna. The Magyar chief fell into a state of profound discouragement, and, as every hope of conquering had left him, he decided on a reconciliation with the emperor, if honourable conditions were offered him. He had already obtained a safe-conduct for his negotiators, but, as the new step required the greatest secrecy, Stephen Szirmay, the confidant and friend of the young hero, whom he had before sent to Leopold, undertook to manage the business secretly, while escaping the surveillance of the Turkish spies and the suspicions of the Hungarian captains.

To remove any idea as to the mission he was about to fulfil, he came to an understanding with the Austrian General Caprara. One night, then, he fell voluntarily into an ambuscade near Samos, and was conducted to Vienna as a prisoner of war. He there presented Tekeli's letter, in which the Magyar chief promised to serve the emperor in future as a second Scanderbeg, and prove by his actions that Christian blood flowed in his veins. He was ready, he said, to break solemnly with the Turks, separate himself from the exiles, and deliver up the strong places still in his hands. No dissimulation or fickleness

on his part need for the future be feared, for such a decided step would open an abyss between him and the Sublime Porte. His plenipotentiary felt confident that this proposition would be accepted on the spot, and that the affair would take a most successful turn; but the crafty priests had drawn him into a snare, and would cruelly crush his hopes.

Tekeli's letter, with the instructions and procuration of Szirmay, was sent to Muhammad IV. By this perfidy the Austrian government hoped to break at one blow the alliance between the insurgents and the Turks, and disperse the Magyar battalions by depriving them of their leader. The submission of Upper Hungary would thus become a certainty. Whilst this terrible manœuvre was producing its injurious results, the generous Szirmay was kept at Vienna as a prisoner, and when it was known that the poison was working, he was carried away by night, first to Prague, then to Brunn, in Moravia, and finally to Glatz. Without subjecting him to any interrogatory, he was cast into a gloomy dungeon, all his questions and prayers only obtaining this one reply: "Your chieftain no longer exists; wait beneath the bolts the emperor's good pleasure."

In the mean while, the Pasha of Grosswardein received orders to arrest the young count, no matter by what means, and send him to Adrianople in fetters. Having no suspicion, the bold general ran to meet the danger. On the 13th of October, 1685, Æneas Caprara having surrounded Kaschau, Tekeli led the remnant of his troops across the Theiss, and encamped about a mile from Grosswardein. He thence proceeded with three superior officers

to the pasha, who watched for the moment to lay hands on him. The count desired to prove to him the necessity of succouring without delay the invested town. He and his companions were received in the most honourable manner, and invited to a banquet regally served; but as they rose from table after coffee, the aga of the Janissaries pronounced some words, and the guests, seized and thrown into chains by soldiers, were carried to Adrianople under a heavy guard. What sorrowful reflections must have overwhelmed the young man while being thus dragged away far from his country and his army!

No one knew the reasons on which the Turks had acted, and all were equally ignorant of the fate of Szirmay; hence, the captivity of the young prince seemed the result of atrocious perfidy, and caused the most lively indignation among his friends. The Porte having offered to surrender him to the Austrian court if the proposals of peace repeatedly rejected were ratified, the fury of the Magyars attained its height: every relation with men who appeared to them traitors became loathsome to them, and an extraordinary excitement broke out among the troops encamped near Grosswardein. John Szuts and Francis Deaks abandoned with their regiments the army of independence, and marched straight to Kallo, where they gave in their submission to the emperor. The other insurgents, forming a body of seven thousand men, were voluntarily led by their chieftain Petnehazy into the camp of Æneas Caprara, where they abjured every feeling of hostility to the court. So great was their excitement, that their commandant wished to open to the Austrians the gates of Kaschau. He entered the town with

the authority of the general, informed the citizens and garrison of the perfidious treatment Tekeli had undergone, proved to them the inutility of all resistance as they could no longer hope for succour, and obtained from them a promise of surrender. On October 25th they received the imperial troops, and the soldiers passed beneath the enemy's flag.

Resentment and indignation everywhere led astray the defenders of the national cause. The citadels of Regecz, Tokai, Patak, and Unghvar were surrendered without a blow. Of course the court took care not to enlighten the peoples, and cleverly worked on the error it had propagated. The blind wrath of the Hungarians was destined to inflict more injury on them than all the persecution and defeats, and cast them for a long time beneath the feet of tyranny. Helene Tekeli, the prisoner's wife, daughter of that ban of the Croats who died on the scaffold, alone remained inflexible in her castle of Munkacs. Her hatred, her love, and her heroic firmness were enemies not to be overcome, and the inaccessible fortress braved the imperial armies.* Still the Turks, attacked everywhere in Ottoman Hungary, experienced on every occasion sanguinary defeats: struck with terror, they

* Helene had married, first, Prince Rakoczy, whose mysterious death we have already described. Her mother, the wife of Peter Zriny, Ban of the Croats, having gone mad in her prison, soon after died. Her brother Anthony, incarcerated in the castle of Kuffstein, in the Tyrol, languished there twenty years, according to tradition, for no one ever heard anything about him. He was a gentle, clever, and honourable man, and, like his father, was so tall that he was obliged to stoop to speak with any one. (Memoires du Comte Niklos, vol. ii. p. 145.)

knew not how to defend themselves, or only took false measures.

The captivity of Emeric only lasted three months, for a new vizir comprehended the fault committed by irritating the Magyars and seconding the artifices of the court of Vienna. He released the count, and ordered him to be treated with the same honours as before—as sovereign prince of Hungary. But this reparation came too late; Tekeli had no soldiers, captains, arms, or money left; the Austrians occupied the fortresses and provinces he had formerly held. In vain did he address to his countrymen the most eloquent manifestoes and most startling proclamations; not a man of any importance responded to the appeal. The troops and funds the Muhammadans had promised him could not be sent, for the grand seignior was himself reduced to coin his plate to pay the expense of the coming campaign. The nobles who imprudently evinced any joy at his deliverance perished on the scaffold at Debreczin. The count never recovered from the terrible blow Austrian cunning had dealt him; and although he still carried on a guerilla warfare, he entirely lost his old military and political importance.

CHAPTER XV.

VENGEANCE OF THE IMPERIAL COURT AND THE JESUITS—MASSACRE OF EPERIES.

THE hour of vengeance had arrived for the order of St. Ignatius, and it confided the execution to one of those pitiless fellows who dishonour the human race, the Neapolitan Antonio Caraffa. He was an ex-Knight of Malta, whom his cousin, Cardinal Caraffa, apostolic nuncio in Austria, had placed about Leopold's person as chamberlain in 1665. Hence he was on the most intimate terms with the Church. Compelled to take part in the war, he displayed very slight merit, for in 1685, despite all the occasions for distinction which these stormy times presented, he was still a simple colonel. But so soon as the Jesuits had enrolled him among their agents, he made rapid progress. In 1696, he was appointed Commandant of Upper Hungary, General-Commissary of War, Aulic Councillor, and Military Councillor to the Court. Favours and distinctions rained upon this mediocre, we may almost say incapable, man; and he recompensed his protectors by the

hatred he displayed towards the Magyars. He styled himself emphatically the Scourge of God, the Attila of the Hungarians. In his baseness he gave the most atrocious advice to the imperial court: as a diet of magnates was about to be convened at Presburg, in order to extort from them by cunning and force the last privileges of the nation, he proposed a system of terrorism, by which confiscations, torture, and punishment would at once subdue their courage and prevent resistance. No less greedy than ferocious, he wished to enrich himself at the expense of the oppressed. "If I believed I had in my whole body," he said, "a single drop of blood favourable to the Hungarians, I would have my veins opened. Let me be employed, then, to subdue them: I laugh at their immunities, their laws, their judicial forms, and their constitution." Such a man was well adapted to carry out the emperor's threat: *Faciam Hungariam captivam, postea mendicam, deinde Catholicam.* (I will make Hungary captive, next mendicant, and finally Catholic.) His auxiliaries in this infamous work were two Jesuits, the adroit Peritzhof, celebrated for his hatred to the Protestants, and his brother in God Kellio, who was less hypocritical, but more ferocious.

A court, composed of imperial lacqueys, ignorant officers, a military auditor remarkable for his incessant violence, and Hungarian apostates, was constituted at Eperies, a strong place in the mountains, devoted to the Reformation, which was for a long time Tekeli's principal stronghold, had defended itself bravely against the Imperialists, and had only opened its gates on obtaining a decree of amnesty and liberty of conscience. The motive alleged

for collecting this sanguinary band, was the eternal pretext of the House of Austria: a plot invented by itself. The Protestants and higher nobility were accused of keeping up an understanding with Tekeli and his wife, the intrepid Helene, who was cannonading the orthodox regiments at no great distance from Eperies. The time had passed when she used to follow her husband on horseback in all his expeditions, and even to the battle-field!

To bear out his mendacious accusation, the favourite of the Jesuits employed instruments as vile as himself: two prostitutes asserted they had served as emissaries of the conspirators, and carried messages between the Chatelain of Munkacs and the Hungarian nobles and Protestants. Although they produced no letter, and supplied no proof, their testimony was considered sufficient. One of these creatures was especially distinguished for her effrontery and violence against the Hungarians: as a worthy ally of the ante-chamber general, she supported him by her impostures, and seconded his ignoble designs incessantly. History has erected a pillory on which her name is fixed—Elisa Ujhely.

As soon as the murderous machine was organised, the count began filling the prisons. Hulans traversed the provinces arresting persons indicated by Antonio Caraffa: they were seized in the streets, at their houses, at church, at the chase, or wherever they could be found. Not a single native was surprised either armed or in a posture of defence, which was a sufficient proof of their pacific intentions; but they were thrust into the dungeons of Eperies, Debreczin, and other towns. On the market-place of the first town the general erected a scaffold, just

in front of the house he inhabited, and, through a sort of mournful luxury, he attired thirty hangmen in green liveries, who went punctually and regularly to execute his victims.

The accused appeared before the court rather as a form than to undergo a serious examination: Elisa Ujhely served as accuser, and Ladislaus Szentivanyi, one of those official lacqueys who live on hatred, and desire the overthrow of all men above them, and another scoundrel of a similar nature, Stephen Geczy, performed analogous duties: though in the number of judges, they denounced the accused, and then decided their fate. No Magyar law was observed, and the accused were scarce allowed time for defence. Those Hungarians, who wished to justify themselves, received from the Jesuit in uniform this abominable reply: "You will be tried after execution."*

The pious butchery commenced on the 20th of February, 1687. Every native who refused to avow a chimerical crime, was put to the question, and the most refined torture did not seem cruel enough to overcome their resistance and subdue their courage. Eye-witnesses have transmitted to us frightful details which we cannot leave in darkness; for horror and disgust inspire better than all reflections a hatred for intolerance and tyranny. Our readers will remember the beautiful passage in Tacitus: "*Prima est historiæ lex nequid falsi dicere audeat: deinde nequid veri non audeat.*" (The historian dare not say anything false, such is his first duty: the second, that

* Vehse, vol. v. p. 272.

he must dare to speak the whole truth.) Let us then have the courage to be present, without giving way, at the tortures of the Hungarian patriots and Reformers.

The most noble persons, the men of highest reputation, and the brave captains who had fought in the war of independence, were led on to the scaffold, either together or separately, with victims of a lower class. Some were dragged out and lengthened on ladders expressly made to dislocate the limbs; others had their heads bound with cords or fillets of metal, until their eyes started from the sockets.* They were hanged by the hands to gibbets, and enormous weights attached to their feet, while the hangman burned their armpits with wax tapers, or shook over the unhappy men torches of pitch and resin which bedewed them with a liquid shower of fire. They were tortured with red-hot pincers, and steel blades or nails raised to a white heat were thrust beneath the nails on their fingers and toes. Many, half roasted and half lacerated, died under the torture. Leopold's delegate offered six hundred florins to any one who invented a new punishment, and one of these tortures, the most atrocious of all those described by the historians, makes our hair stand on end. Large wires at a white heat were introduced into the natural passages of the body, after the victims had been stripped of their clothing!

If the excess of pain subdued their courage, or the slightest word escaped from them which might be used against them, their execution was immediately proceeded with, in defiance of the ancient law (belonging to a

* Histoire des Révolutions de Hongrie, vol. 1. p. 349.

barbarous code, too), which demanded that the culprits should confirm their confession when out of the torturer's clutches. Their right hand was first cut off, and then they were decapitated, fastened to the wheel, impaled or quartered, according to the caprice of the judges and their blood-thirsty auxiliaries.*

The Jesuits, those men of God, applauded these horrors, and regarded this hideous carnage with unblushing cheek.

Antonio Caraffa displayed his ferocity to even a greater extent, for, while the victims were groaning and imploring his mercy, or howling and writhing in intolerable agony before his windows, he amused himself with lost women, drank delicate wines, played at dice—in short, gave himself up to joy and pleasure. We must confess that human villany is the most perfect creation in nature!

A few wretched men obtained pardon, but purchased it at an enormous sacrifice.

Several Magyars, gifted with superhuman strength of will and physical power, endured to the end the fury of the cannibals, without bearing witness against themselves or aiding the projects of their persecutors by the slightest sign of weakness. Among these heroes we may especially notice Francis Berthaly and Martin Kende: they were put to the question to make them accuse two important persons, Stephen Csaky and Ladislaus Karolyi, men of irreproachable character, whom the Jesuits dared not

* Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes, vol. v. pp. 270 *sqq.*; Hormayr: Anemonen, vol. i. pp. 138, 139; Fessler: Geschichte der Ungarn, vol. ix. pp. 391, *sqq.*; Historia Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ in Hungariâ, p. 43.

punish in the absence of all proof. 'Although the victims might have saved themselves horrible tortures by sacrificing other persons, they would not calumniate innocence, and punishments that make us shudder did not draw a falsehood from their lips.

'In order that the hangmen might not lose their trouble, the invincible martyrs were not released gratuitously: a heavy fine was imposed on them, or all their property confiscated. The friends of a gentleman, Michael Roth, paid for his life ten thousand thalers: he went to the Diet of Presburg, and displayed to the deputies the unhealed wounds of his frightful torture.

Several persons went mad under the torture, or after they had been conducted back to prison: David Faja, an upright man and justice of the peace at Kaschau, intrepidly endured the frightful trial, but on returning to his dungeon he lost his reason, and soon after died. His body was hung, and soon after cut into four pieces, which were exposed on stakes. Indignant that its victim should have escaped, the court seized a master butcher in the same town, Samuel Lanyi, and, without interrogating or hearing him, his head was cut off. Simon Feldmeyer, who fought under the banners of Tekeli, but had since greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Buda among the Imperialists, having been arrested by the enemies of the proconsul, would not appear before the abject court, and foiled its fury by stabbing himself. His body was treated like that of David Faja.

The punishments inflicted on some of the nobles have left a still deeper impression behind them. On the 15th of March, four lords had their hands and heads cut off,

and their bodies were quartered and exposed on the public road. On the 22nd of March five nobles suffered the same fate, and on the 9th of May six gentlemen perished by a criminal's death in their turn.

Calvinists were executed in preference; but the orthodox lords, who possessed large estates and the affection of the people, were no better treated: their riches became the booty of the treasury and of the judges. A few unhappy men were induced by terror and the promises of the general to inculpate themselves—they believed themselves certain of pardon; but with barbarous irony the proconsul ordered their heads to be cut off and placed at their feet, as if restoring them, in order to keep his promise that the victims should not lose them.

The wives, mothers, sisters, relatives, and friends of the prisoners hurried to Vienna, threw themselves at Leopold's feet, and asked him with tears and sobs for the life of their relatives. The emperor received them with a paternal air, granted their prayers, and gave them letters of pardon. With lightened hearts they hurried home, but during their absence the prisoners had been executed; or the Neapolitan, with a sardonic air, put in his pocket the deed of liberation, and decapitated persons who were supposed to be out of danger. The imperial clemency seemed to increase his fury, but the secret of his strange conduct was soon detected. Wearied with the documents brought to him, he displayed an autograph letter of Leopold's, in which it was written: "Suppliants could not be prevented from making appeal to the pity of the sovereign, but any recommendations, letters of grace, and counter-orders, possessed no value—the delegate of the

prince could pursue his object without rest or mercy." Tartufe, in truth, appears very pale by the side of this august hypocrisy: the court of Vienna would have found the poor man affected with primitive awkwardness and patriarchal simplicity.

Thus authorised, the proconsul troubled himself but little about humanity, and still less about justice, and the axe of the executioner fell on his personal enemies as well as on the adversaries of tyranny. The Margrave Hermann of Baden, and Count John of Drascowitz, Chancellor of Hungary, being hateful in his sight, he wished to have them calumniated by men of position, and, to obtain this false testimony, threw the latter into a dungeon, and menaced them with torture if they refused to tell an untruth! Some yielded, and then hastened to Vienna to protest against the violence which had conquered them, and refute their own statements. But it was the useless effort of an indignant conscience: the Margrave Hermann of Baden was sent to Ratisbon in a species of voluntary exile, in spite of the interference and anger of Prince Louis of Baden, his cousin, a skilful general devoted to Austria.

In the mean while the chiefs of the Magyar aristocracy had assembled at Presburg. Leopold wished to obtain from them the abandonment of all the national guarantees: he invited the Diet to abolish the right of insurrection established in 1222 by the bull of King Andrew, because resistance to a prince was a violation of all laws, divine and human, and Heaven ordered obedience to him, even when he tyrannically abused his power.

The emperor also demanded that the electoral crown of Hungary should be transformed into an hereditary crown to the advantage of the Habsburgs. The carnage of Eperies supplied a terrible argument, which must prevent replies, and terrify the malcontents: horror served as a political expedient. Still more to strike their minds, the emperor presided in person at the assembly, having his son by his side. Very few of the lords dared to contradict him; one, however, Nicholas Drascowitz, chancellor of the kingdom, remained staunch in his opposition, and Leopold, turning to him with a menacing air, said, in a tone of irritation: "What! you alone so despise my son that you refuse him the crown?" These words struck the deputy like a thunderbolt: the chagrin of seeing the liberty, guarantees, and happiness of the Magyars sacrificed by the vote of the Diet increased his emotion, and the next day he was found dead in his bed—at least, such is the explanation of the historians favourable to the court. The Jesuits obtained from the assembly their naturalisation in Hungary, and would exercise the same rights there as the natives.

This memorable meeting took place on the 31st of October, and the greatest personages then interposed to stop the daily hecatombs at Eperies. The bloody scaffold, on which so many victims had fallen, was destroyed in November. Leopold evinced a feigned terror at the cruelties of his representative, and even received, with apparent emotion the widows of the more illustrious martyrs. The murders and punishments had lasted no less than nine months: but the pitiless executioner did

not fall into disgrace: the prince left him in command of the fortresses of Upper Hungary, and, even more, dishonoured the collar of the Golden Fleece by spreading it on this infamous breast. It is a singular use of signs of distinction to prostitute them to crime and baseness!

On the 9th of December, 1687, the elder son of Leopold, then eight years of age, was crowned hereditary King of Hungary: the House of Habsburg had gained its ends.

Helene Tekeli, however, still resisted, in her castle of Munkacs, all the forces of the imperial government, and her intrepidity saved her from the shipwreck of her family. Nor was she depressed by her husband's reverses. It was not till 1688, after many years of obstinate resistance, that she surrendered her fortress to the Imperialists, but she had previously obtained an honourable capitulation, worthy her great heart.*

All seemed ended, and the national cause eternally ruined: for thirteen years the Hungarians, conquered, decimated, beggared, and kept beneath the yoke, remained tranquil. But the reminiscences of the past count among the active forces of the present: they hover over nations like avenging spirits or affectionate counsellors, influence opinion, dispose hearts, and prepare for future events. The good actions of a race or governor benefit them long after the period in which they were accomplished: their crimes weigh upon them during their

* Memoires du Comte Niklos, vol. ii. p. 183.

entire existence, cumber their path with perpetual embarrassments, and frequently determine their fall. The shadows of their victims follow them everywhere, curse them without cessation, and arouse heaven and earth against them.

In 1701, while the war of the Spanish succession was exhausting and ruining Austria, the Magyars took up arms once again for liberty, at the summons of the youthful Rakoczy, whom his mother, the noble and charming Helene Tekeli, had educated as the future avenger of the Hungarians. In 1704 they appeared beneath the walls of Vienna, and discharged their muskets against the gates of the city and the windows of the castle, adorned with the skins of the lions, tigers, and leopards they had killed in the imperial menagerie of the Thurgarten. Two years later they again marauded round the capital. Worn out by her struggles with France, Austria concluded with them, in 1711, the treaty of Zathmar, which restored them their political constitution, civil laws, and religious liberty, and confirmed the right of insurrection, on which Hungary laid such importance. The Magyars governed themselves and administered justice up to 1848: their indomitable patriotism gained them one hundred and thirty-seven years of repose and dignity.

The first five insurrections did not liberate them, but they kept despotism in check: the sixth enabled them to trample under foot the imperial pretensions, re-establish their Diet and courts, and the free vote of taxes, and to march into action under the national banner. It is a

manifest proof that a nation must never abandon its rights or lose hope! It either triumphs at the outset, like Holland, or it finishes by taking consolatory reprisals, and obtaining a glorious victory, like the Hungarians. Self-respect, intrepid courage, love of country, and hatred of injustice, are inexhaustible resources for the oppressed.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MANUAL OF THE INQUISITORS BECOMES THE POLITICAL CODE OF AUSTRIA.

In the numerous and incontestable facts we have hitherto produced before our readers, there are found a systematic spirit and a cruel subtlety which astonish the historian most habituated to the sophistry of crime. He asks with terror whence this murderous scholastic, so pitilessly practised by the Habsburgs, could have come. What a scourge for nations! what a revolting spectacle for the human conscience! The Austrian despotism has a special physiognomy found nowhere else, not under the vile domination of the Roman emperors, or the brutal oppression of the Turkish seigniors. Doubtlessly, the casuistry of St. Ignatius is no stranger to it; but this dialectic of suppleness and craft does not suffice to explain the previous cruelty, the disloyal and encroaching tyranny, of the court of Vienna—an occult influence, the action of a secret doctrine, must have been united to it.

This doctrine the Jesuits themselves revealed to us on a memorable occasion, and we now know that they adopted the maxims of the Inquisition, and practised without avowing them: they, struck with a terrible weapon they concealed beneath their cloak, and were very careful to keep it out of sight. Born in the pestilential cavern of Spain, on the same soil as the Dominicans, at a period of bloody contest, the cautious order naturally accepted their penal theory, their system of reaction and propagation; and what we will now lay before our readers allows no doubt on this head. The Jesuits observed point for point the laws drawn up, in the middle of the fourteenth century, by Nicholas Eymeric, Grand Inquisitor of Arragon; this book, deposited in all the establishments of the Holy Office, regulated the criminal procedure of the Fathers of the Faith. It was preserved with care, studied with respect, and scrupulously followed as a bible of murder and oppression.

Stimulated by the esteem the Ultramontane prelates displayed for the Inquisitors' Directory, Francis Pegna, doctor of theology and canonist, resolved to publish it, and even add a commentary: he obtained a privilege from Pope Gregory XIII., dedicated to him the mysterious code, and had it printed at the Capitol (*in ædibus populi Romani*) during 1558, in one folio volume; but it was not communicated to the profane. The Order of Loyola had just been founded, and it adopted the jurisprudence of the Inquisition, and applied it on a grand scale. Still, with that profound dissimulation peculiar to the order, it did not breathe a hint as to the sepulchral book whence it drew its inspirations.

In 1761, however, when the whole of Europe rose against the artful monks, the Dominicans allowed themselves to be led astray by public opinion and the hatred of the Marquis de Pombal for their colleagues; they arrested a Jesuit, Father Malagrida, condemned him to the stake, and burned him at Lisbon on September 21. We can conceive the fury and indignation the news of this excited through all the professed houses: the entire order uttered a cry of vengeance, for burning a brother, a champion of the Church, was rather too much! Arms were sought for, and it was expected that a terrible blow would be dealt the Dominicans by divulging their sinister code. But as their breviary of intolerance could not circulate easily, owing to its size, nor be popularised by a cheap price, the Jesuits hastened to abridge it, and extract its substance. Their *précis* formed a 12mo volume, which they published before the end of the year: its title was, "Manual of the Inquisitors," and the reverend fathers carefully described its origin. The Abbé Morellet immediately translated it from the Latin, and a French edition came out at the beginning of 1762.

On studying this authentic *résumé*, we find all the odious maxims of the Austrian policy appearing successively in it, and perceive that both Spanish orders have been equally ill appreciated; for not only have false distinctions been established between them, but the extent of their principles has not been recognised.

A taste for blood and implacable ferocity are attributed to the Dominicans as characteristic signs, while the Jesuits are assumed to be finesse, craft, and dissimulation in person, and to approach their object by sinuous roads

and subterraneous paths. In the conclave of the gloomy powers, one represented violence, the other perfidy. Well! this difference does not exist: history and documents forbid the admission. The Dominicans, in their white gowns and black cloaks, employed, like the Jesuits, feints and trickery; the honeyed band of St. Ignatius employed, like the Dominicans, terror and punishment. The latter even made a more exclusive use of them, by plundering the population, and lavishing murder and ruin: they held in their hands, not the cross of salvation and redemption, but a newly sharpened axe. The Capuchins preceded them, ran before them like greyhounds, or walked at their heels, executing the sentences, or gleaning the field of plunder. Beneath a feint of religious fanaticism, they concealed worldly plans, an unbounded ambition, and avarice still more insatiable: they desired, on one hand, to establish the absolute rule of the clergy; on the other, to lay hand on all riches. Their dearest desire was to command princes, subjugate peoples, and plunder the human race, and the theologians of the pontifical court made no attempt at dissimulation.

"The man who assimilates the Pope to God himself, is well favoured by the Pope; but he who tries to render princes equal to the Pope," writes an author of the seventeenth century, "the Pope hales off to prison. Any one who prints that the majesty of princes ought to bow before the sovereign pontiff, is rewarded by the sovereign pontiff; but whoso publishes that the power of the princes is independent of the Holy See, is persecuted by the Holy See. Whoever maintains that the

supremacy of the Pope is absolute, unbounded, independent, and derived solely from God, acquires the good graces of the chief of the Church; but any one who tries to place the Councils above him, excites his hatred and fury. He who declares him infallible, obtains a bishopric; he who embraces another opinion, goes to row the galleys. Whoso teaches that the Pope can excommunicate and depose kings at his pleasure, is defended by him against the vengeance of kings; but whoever refutes the system, dies beneath the axe, in spite of the protection of kings."*

Now open the "Manual of Inquisitors," a book every letter in which has cost a thousand lives, which has spread desolation and evil around, like a gospel of death. Chapters X. and XI. manifestly reveal the designs of the institution, for they treat of "the fines, confiscation of property, privation of all employment, benefice, dignity, power, and authority, pronounced against the heretics, their descendants and children."

"In addition to penance," the Manual says, "the Inquisitor can inflict fines, for the same reason that he can order pilgrimages, fasts, prayers, and other expiations. The fines must be employed in pious works, such as maintaining and supporting the Holy Office. It is, in fact, just, that the expenses of the Inquisitor should fall on those brought before his tribunal, because, according to St. Paul, no one is obliged to carry on war at his own expense (*nemo cogitur stipendiis suis militare*). The

* Il Cardinalismo, parte prima, libro i. pp. 113-14.

Inquisitors may also receive presents, provided that they are not too considerable, for they should fear lest their avidity might scandalise the laity."

Thus, then, fines were introduced among the pious punishments and means of correction, and the first use assigned to them is to stuff the purse of the Inquisitors. Charity well arranged always begins at home. These apostles of the stake announce, also, that they will receive presents; but they do not wish gifts of too considerable a value to be brought them, for that might render their benevolence, disinterestedness, and charity suspected. The worthy fathers are modest! their cupidity acts the prude, and sinks its eyes; but they know very well that the terror of punishment and death will open to them every hand, every strong-box, and draw from their obscurity treasures concealed for ages.

Besides, they allege motives; but those are never wanting to sustain bad causes. "As the most useful of all pious works," the Manual continues, "is the establishment and support of the Inquisition, the fines may be employed without inconvenience for the maintenance of the Inquisitors and their families: and they need not wait till they have a pressing want of these funds; for it is very profitable and highly necessary to the Christian faith that the Inquisitors *should have abundance of money* to support and pay their families in seeking out and imprisoning heretics, and performing their other duties." The secretary of the Holy Office did not dare add: to pay the torturers who lay on the rack, broil, and lacerate poor creatures, often as orthodox as the Grand Inquisitor himself. But he adds a reflection which appears to him thoroughly

conclusive: "After all, the public pay butchers, physicians, and masters of the liberal and mechanical professions; then why should they not pay the Inquisitors, who support the greatest works, and are most useful? The Egyptians supported the priests of their idols, then will not the people nourish the censors of the faith, who maintain the observation of the divine law and the purity of the Catholic dogmas?"

This mode of argument is triumphant: the people must pay and fatten the spies who watch them, the informers who calumniate them, the sbirri who arrest them, the gaolers who imprison them, the hangmen who torture them, and, above all, the priests who command these rigours. Their professions thus become lucrative, and a man serves God while attending to his own fortune. As for the good shepherd saving the scattered flock, or the Samaritan pouring oil on the wounds, they must not be mentioned in the same breath, for these parables are found in the Gospels and not in the Inquisitors' Manual.

To receive money, and fill one's strong-box by religious devotion, is doubtless very agreeable; but such trifling alms cannot satisfy men devoured by the zeal of the Lord. Estates, houses, forests, furniture, possess certain charms for a holy soul and apostolic hearts; and hence the Manual has taken their virtuous desires into consideration. Every heretic loses his estates even if he repent, even if he be converted after sentence has been pronounced: *à fortiori* the tribunal confiscates the property, funded and personal, of impenitent and relapsed heretics. "It is through pure kindness," the secretary of the Holy Office says, "if the Dissenters are not stripped who humiliate themselves and

are converted before the sentence, for they have merited denudation and death, as a single error entails *de facto* such consequences."

Property captured in this way naturally fell into the hands of the Inquisitors, and their abnegation knew no bounds. At first the treasury seized it, after the Dominicans had largely deducted their expenses; but a method so contrary to true piety was soon altered. Of Church lands, the Spanish order kept all it could; in secular estates, it made three portions of the domains, the valuables, and furniture seized: the first was given to the temporal lords; the second, to the Inquisitor; while the third formed a reserve fund for the pursuit and extermination of heretics, or, if you like it better that way, the Dominicans seized it like the second. Innocent IV. had thus regulated the division; but the third obtained by the worldly powers disturbed the conscience of the monks. This levy on the conquests of the Church inspired them with profound remorse; they worked hard to abolish it, and their pious enterprise was crowned with perfect success. The pharisees of the new law pattered a multitude of paternosters in celebration of their triumph.

But what became of the wives and children of the condemned—were they expelled from the paternal home and forced to beg their bread? The gospel of Antichrist shows them no pity: "Any commiseration for the children of the culpable who are reduced to mendicity must not soften the rigour of the tribunal; for, according to the laws, divine and human, children are punished for the faults of their parents." The secret motive of this arrangement may be easily divined: had any compassion

been shown for the families, had any fear been felt of plunging them into misery, it would become impossible to strip them, or at least a portion of their property must have been left to them. Now, if they were not stripped, the Holy Office suffered a loss, while, if a portion of their estates were left them, so much was taken from the profits of the reverend fathers. Their hearts revolted at the idea of such an abuse.

Hence their book of business adds: "Orthodox children of schismatics are not exempt from this punishment, and nothing must be left them, not even the legitime which appears to be theirs by the law of nature. This is indispensable to turn parents from a crime so great as heresy." Such is the pretext, but the real object was to fill the treasury, and increase the property of the Dominicans. But these charitable beings were susceptible to tender feelings. "The Inquisitors," the Manual says, "will be allowed, however, *out of mercy*, to provide for the subsistence of the children of heretics: the boys will be taught a trade, and the girls put out to service with some honourable lady in the same town. Those whom tender age and bad health render unable to gain their livelihood will receive some slight assistance." Very slight, indeed: how could the greedy monks display any generosity?

It may be imagined, perhaps, that the dower of married women was safe from their cupidity: they had recognised the principle at the outset, and it sometimes escaped them. But how the foxes prowled round this prey and sniffed it! it almost broke their hearts to lose it. Hence they established an exception and a restriction: "The dower may

be confiscated, if the woman, when married, knew that her husband was a schismatic." In nine cases out of ten she protested her ignorance in vain. "The dower free from confiscation is not that designed by the marriage contract, but that which witnesses and the deposition of a notary prove to have been really brought." What vigilant avarice, what fear of losing a farthing! Did the Jews, whom the Holy Hermandad burned, display less obstinate covetousness for their riches—did they so cruelly strip widows and orphans?

But here is something else: not even death or the unsullied reputation of piety was a safeguard against the rapine of the Inquisition. "After the death of a schismatic, his property may be declared subject to confiscation," says the Manual, "and his heirs deprived of it, though this declaration had not been made during the heretic's lifetime." Through the whole extent of Spain, consequently from the coasts of Gallicia to the summits of the Sierra Nevada, from the mouth of the Ebro to the shores of Portugal, no one could sleep in security beneath the roof of his forefathers, no one be certain against being tomorrow reduced to the beggar's wallet and staff! If a man were not dragged before the capuchined judges of the Holy Office as a free thinker, without proofs or confrontment with witnesses, on the secret information of a scoundrel, his father or ancestor was accused, and a band of alguazils tore him from his house, his estates, from the only spot where he could bring up and support his family; places dear and sacred, where he hoped to end his days! The gloomy code, in fact, says: "Children, heirs of schismatics, will not enjoy the benefit of prescription for

estates, handed down to them until forty years have elapsed, provided, however, that they held them in good faith during that period; for if they had discovered in the interval that the deceased was a heretic, the Inquisitors can seize on the estates of the latter, even after forty years have elapsed."

Who were the unhappy men whose bones were thus troubled in their tomb, closed for half a century and more, and whose memory was branded by a posthumous sentence? Surely these tactics allow the secret to escape: every man who did not leave the rapacious monks a large legacy, proportioned to his fortune, became suspected of heresy. His omission imperilled the future, the very bread of his family; the implacable order stood by his dying bed, bag in hand, and commanded him, by an imperious gesture, to give them a large offering. The trembling man proportioned his gifts to his love of his family, and stripped them partly, through fear that they might be utterly ruined. It was a triumphant fashion of procuring legacies.

No guarantee, we thus see, was a protection against the avidity of the Holy Office: not an acre of land could escape it, when it wished to become master of it. And in order that its own sentences might not become an obstacle to its cupidity, the book of blood adds a clause which would have astonished Tartufe: "Causes of this nature must be rapidly decided, and the heirs not kept in suspense, when proofs against the defunct accused are lacking, unless new indicia are shortly anticipated. But, although the defunct accused may have been acquitted, this will not prevent the process being reopened

if new witnesses come to offer their depositions, because, in favour of the Faith, a sentence of absolution, in causes of heresy, must never be considered a definitive judgment." What an abyss! and how could these numberless snares be avoided? How escape being entangled in these caltrops, laid one beneath the other to immeasurable depths?

We need not say that the contumacious lost their property by the mere fact of their emigration: if they returned to Spain, and presented themselves to the cunning monks, their repentance was accepted, but not a farthing was returned, for it is so pleasant to take, and so cruel to restore!

The chapter on confiscations terminates by the examination of a marvellous problem. The Inquisitor asks if a schismatic, whose opinions are not suspected, who has not been denounced or disturbed, ought not in conscience to come himself and offer all his property to the defenders of the Church. This appears to the inquirer harsh, for, in this way, the poor heretic would denounce himself; he therefore hesitates, and establishes distinctions: he would desire, for instance, that a schismatic, acquitted, but really culpable, should spontaneously offer all his fortune to the holy brotherhood. To speak without evasion, the jealous monks desired the whole peninsula. O depth of clerical abnegation! Was I wrong when I attributed to the Dominicans the same dexterity as that of the Jesuits?

The system of universal spoliation they had organised did not seem yet to satisfy their ambition: estates, houses, farms, castles, plate, furniture, and jewellery are doubt-

less good to take and good to keep; but there is another source of income and influence which the cunning monks desired to have in their clutches. Benefices, offices, and dignities, in their nature impalpable, supply consideration and bring in profits. The speculators in the soutane declared that a schismatic, by the mere fact of his heresy, incurred the loss of every office: a sentence was only required to remove the favourers of the heretics. Now, so small a matter thrust a man without the pale of the Christian law, that he was declared a partisan of the free thinkers for less than nothing. As for the children of the impious, we may conjecture that they were immediately expelled from their offices, and any other public employment was closed against them. The father was killed by excessive torture, by the stake, or interminable imprisonment: his descendants were killed by hunger.

"Some authors assert that this punishment," the book of the Inquisition says, "is restricted to children born since the father has embraced the false doctrines; but their distinction is based on no solid foundation, and may be combated by this decisive argument, that the punishment having been imagined to restrain the parents by the love they bear their children, it must fall on all, as they love those born prior to their crime as much as those who have seen the light since." Political and civil excommunication fell on the second generation on the father's side, but was limited to the first on the mother's side; son and daughter, grandson and granddaughter, of a schismatic could not hence hold any benefice, or enjoy any public office; but if the mother had been led astray by Satan, the malediction spared the innocent heads of

her grandson and granddaughter. The contumacious and converted heretics, who were burnt despite their repentance, for the fire never lost its rights, thus caused the ruin of their posterity. A man convicted or suspected of doubtful opinions thus carried about with him famine and disaster; he spread over his family before dying a pestilential influence. Nothing escaped; the lugubrious associate confiscated the present, distributed rags to the whole family, and rendered the future barren. But then what gains were theirs! Places, benefices, domains, castles, furniture, diamonds, and money, all fell into their hands; it was a perpetual filling of the exchequer. The homicidal barterers daily thundered out *Te Deums* to thank God for their prosperity. Ah! if the holy brotherhood could have been converted into a limited liability company, what a glorious affair it would have been—what would the capitalists have netted!

To complete the work of spoliation and persecution, the capuchined brokers dealt their victims a final blow. The pretended crime of heresy entailed the radical loss of every description of authority. Serfs and domestics no longer owed obedience to their masters, subjects to their king, soldiers to their general, wives to their husbands, or children to their fathers. Oaths made to schismatics were not obligatory; they had no right to inherit or even to reclaim a deposit. Even more: the Manual stated that "a Catholic wife is not bound to fulfil her duties to her husband who has turned heretic." A triple winding-sheet thus covered the free thinker; and he was thrust deeper into the regions of death than a man who had been buried for the last thirty years.

At least the sentences which produced such frightful punishments were surrounded by guarantees of justice and impartiality? Nonsense! Any guarantee granted to inferiors limits the powers of the superiors, and the ambitious generally dream of an unlimited despotism. Even complaints annoyed them. "A state of dumb slavery is desired," according to Chateaubriand's expression, "and not insolent oppressed, who dare to say that they are crushed." The procedure of the Inquisition surpasses all the judicial iniquities piled up in such deep strata in the page of history; it crops out from these mournful beds of crime, and rises above them like a sepulchral monument, an edifice of terror and death.

Only one informer was necessary, who deposed secretly and did not require to have his deposition supported by witnesses, for any man to be dragged from his house and hurled into the dungeons of the Inquisition. Public report, again, was enough; or the tattle of a few gossips, who supposed So-and-So but slightly attached to the Catholic faith. The judge summoned them before his tribunal in order to question them; "*on behalf of the Faith*," the Manual says: "The accusation or testimony of any man who wished to speak, or could not do otherwise, would be received." The list printed in the gloomy code is edifying in the highest degree. It declares, as worthy of instructing the tribunal, excommunicated persons, the accomplices of the heretic, *infamous people and those guilty of any crime*, schismatics, idolaters and Jews, and perjurers who have betrayed truth in the cause itself, and to the injury of the accused. "If a witness," the pious editor remarks, "has perjured himself, he can correct his first

evidence, and then the judges will hold by the second, provided that it implicates the accused; for, if it be favourable to him, they will adhere to the first statement." The tribunal, therefore, cared nothing for truth, and evinced no interest in innocence; it only sought for culprits, or rather for victims.

The Inquisition also admitted among its witnesses the wife, children, natural allies, and servants of a suspected person; the brother could bear witness against his brother, the father accuse his son, and the son denounce his father, because, as it said, obedience to God was above obedience to parents, and if a man might kill his father as enemy of his country, *à fortiori* he might reveal his crimes against the Supreme Majesty. Thus, the son who betrayed the schismatical opinions of his father was, in return for his information, exonerated from the penalties laid down against the children of culprits. "The depositions of domestic witnesses," the sepulchral Manual says, "are very necessary, because the crime of heresy is generally committed in secret." What security such laws offered families! Mistrust came, like a bird of the night, and lodged beneath the most respectable roofs. Masters and servants, fathers and sons, held each other in mutual suspicion; brothers watched each other anxiously. At Toulouse, a father who accused his son, having been put to the torture in 1312, confessed that he had allowed himself to be carried away by hatred, and had calumniated an innocent man.

The depositions of relations and schismatics, so eagerly received when they might lead to the stake, were treated with contempt when they exonerated the culprit. The

Inquisitors, in that case, declared them inadmissible, for the resemblance of opinions and ties of kindred must necessarily render them suspicious.

The witnesses were not even confronted with the culprits, for that would have been too just: even the names of their accusers were not mentioned to them. The defence was a mere pretence or a gloomy derision, for the tribunal itself chose the advocate for the sufferer, ever a bigot devoted to the Holy Office. "His principal care," the Manual simply says, "will be to exhort the accused to make a confession, and demand pardon of his crime, if he be guilty." Pardon was death in the flames, death with all possible ceremony; two informers, even if the scum of the human race, sufficed to produce a condemnation: a victim more adorned the next *auto da fè*, or rotted twenty feet below the surface.

We see, then, that nothing was a guarantee against the Inquisition, neither during life nor death—not even the most lively faith, nor even the most manifest innocence. The monster could always cast its tentacula around the victim, drag him down and close its jaws upon him, and as the persecuted man did not fall alone, as the confiscation of property followed every sentence, the frightful tribunal disposed, uncontrolled, of property as well as of persons. The fortune which attracted the gloomy glances of the monks was ever an incessant cause of peril; how many rich men, at the moment they were wrapped in the San Benito, could have exclaimed, like the Roman proscript, "Unhappy that I am! my house at Alba destroys me!"

Such an institution as this domineered over civil justice, political bodies, and even the authority of the king.

It was an irresistible machine for oppression, and Caligula, Nero, or Heliogabalus dreamed of nothing better in their worst days. But it was at the same time a machine of extortion, a devouring polypus, which, placed no matter where, must suck out the life-blood of a country. Never was a business arrangement so adroitly combined; in a hundred years, a country handed over to the Inquisitors must infallibly belong to them as mortmain, if they did not themselves set limit to their rapine, or if the government did not oppose them.

The Spanish clergy in this way became prodigiously wealthy: at the end of the seventeenth century they possessed, in the twenty-two provinces of the kingdom of Castile, twelve million acres of land, bringing in an income of 161,000,000 reals. It was a fifth part of the province. To this must be added immense property in houses, and an income kept up by terror. The archbishopric of Toledo brought in every year 200,000 ducats, equivalent in our day to 120,000*l.*; the archbishopric of Compostella had a revenue of 60,000 ducats, or 32,000*l.*; that of Seville, 60,000*l.*, and Valentia 28,000*l.* If a man, on his dying bed, ordered some thousand masses to be read for the salvation of his soul, the clergy first deducted from the succession the arbitrary value of these offices, without paying any attention to the creditors of the defunct, who frequently did not touch a maravedi.* The property and special revenue of the Holy Office were never known, as an impenetrable mystery concealed all its operations; besides, the San

* L'Espagne depuis Philippe II. Par Charles Weiss. Seconde partie, ch. i.

Benito, the implements of torture, and the strangulation, granted as a favour to the repenting schismatics, prevented and startled curiosity.

So much influence, wealth, and power did not, however, satisfy the Inquisition, and it formed the plan of creating an army always ready to support its ambitious manœuvres. These troops would have formed a new military order, St. Mary of the White Sword, with the Inquisitor-General of Spain as grand master. Forty noble families, the representatives of the whole monastic clergy, of all the churches, and the Council of the Suprema, praised this formidable design, and approved the statutes already drawn up, and the Holy Office only wanted the authorisation of Philip II. But the king comprehended that he would virtually abdicate his throne if he allowed the organisation of such a force, or placed fanatic bands at the disposal of a powerful and implacable society. Already mistress of the minds by superstition and terror, it would soon have held military dominion over the peninsula, and then carried the war abroad for the interests of Catholicism or its own advantage. The prince tergiversated, asked whether this order were really necessary, pretended he required time for reflection, and never came to a decision, fortunately for himself, his family, and his people: the White Sword would before long have been tinged with the blood of kings and nations.

The Dominicans and Jesuits were at the outset enemies, as the former feared that their profits would be clipped and their influence diminished; but the two orders soon came to a perfect understanding. The hypo-

critical monks took upon them to enervate and obscure the minds, which the sanguinary monks would then terrify. In schools, colleges, and universities, they spread or intensified the gloom of the scholastica, and buried reason beneath the vain subtilties of their doctors. The Inquisition oppressed the adults; the Jesuits mutilated infants, paralysed youth, and stupified all mental energy.

This work though of such importance for them, was far from absorbing their entire attention and occupying all their strength. They had secretly adopted the principles of the Dominicans, but aimed higher, extended their ambition further, and wished to proceed in a more expeditious manner. In their system, the skill of the Inquisition was changed into unfathomable tactics, their cupidity into unbounded avarice, and their taste for murder into implacable barbarity. The ferocity of the Jesuits has ever been kept in the shade, and, as it were, misunderstood, while their capacity and craft were brought to light. But their cruelty was superior to their talent for laying snares; history offers nothing comparable with the butcheries organised and presided over by them, and to find an analogous sect we must e'en seek the worshippers of Siva in India.

The Dominicans possessed tribunals, guards, prisons, torturers, gaolers, spies, an expensive staff and extensive organisation. They condemned in the dark, but burned openly, thus answering for their deeds, displaying their victims, and unveiling their secrets. The order of St. Ignatius preferred to surround its manœuvres with impenetrable mystery; it would neither arrest, judge, burn, nor strangle on its own account. It did not attempt to

enrol beneath its banner an army of fanatics or intriguers whom it must have paid. The Jesuit system revealed far deeper skill: they attached themselves to the great ones of the earth, specially to kings, served their ambition, pandered to their vices and weaknesses, obscured their minds, plunged them into an abyss of illusions, affected an unbounded devotion, to tame them more easily, and augmented their power to profit by it themselves—that is, they strengthened an instrument fashioned by their own hands, in order to render it more useful. Not being able to ascend the throne, they juggled the authority of the princes and reigned in their name. Two roads led to this object—instruction and confession. Those whom they had educated never emerged from their guardianship, but remained beneath their yoke, enchained by contrition and penitence.

The Duc de St. Simon relates a fact which throws a perfect light on the policy of the Jesuits. At the close of the reign of Louis XIV., when profound misery gnawed at all classes of society, when the people groaned beneath the weight of taxation, Desmarest, comptroller-general of the finances, found it necessary to raise a tithe on all the estates in the kingdom. This new extortion afflicted and disturbed the prince, and he could not conceal his sorrow from his lacqueys, who were startled by it. His despondency lasted eight or ten days, but his countenance then brightened, and his habitual calmness returned. Whence came this sudden change? He himself explained it to Maréchal, his head surgeon, who had questioned him touching his melancholy. As the necessity in which he found himself of increasing the indigence

of the nation had inspired him with scruples, and even remorse, he opened his mind to his confessor, Father le Tellier, who asked him time for reflection. His reflections were not, however, protracted: having assembled the principal doctors of the Sorbonne, he made them draw up an opinion, "which concisely decided that all the property of his subjects belonged to the king, and that, when he took it, he only took what belonged to himself." This declaration put the king's conscience entirely to rest, appeased all his scruples, and caused joy and serenity to glisten on the royal brow.

Such was the system: crushing the peoples before the kings, whom the Jesuits themselves domineered over; spreading around political and moral serfdom, that they might trample on the nations; bowing the heads of monarchs, and, if necessary, getting rid of them, if they would not accept the supremacy of the imperious order. Hessius, Marianna, Azor, and Suarès openly exposed the murderous maxims of the society with reference to princes, and the second named wrote a work to exculpate and laud the assassination of Henri III.

Thus, although possessing no courts of their own, the Jesuits made all the judicial tribunals of a kingdom pass judgments in their favour; though they had no sbirri or prisons, they arrested and locked up any one whom they held in umbrage; without possessing torturer or hangman, they tortured, decapitated, burnt, hung, quartered, and tore asunder heretics; though subsidising no army, they fought pitched battles, besieged in their castles and exterminated by the sword the adversaries of the Roman court and of their own monstrous ambition. They thus governed

kings and peoples without untying their purse-strings, and with its proverbial address the crafty order united terror and oppression to economy.

The Dominicans proposed the annihilation of schismatics in all orthodox countries; the Jesuits pursued the same elimination, but wished also to attack heresy in its places of refuge, in the countries where it formed the governing opinion, and the right of the majority consecrated it. The axe at home, the sword and the cannon abroad, were their means of propagandism: holding the chalice in one hand and the cross in the other, they organised a fearful butchery, before which the historian halts in stupefaction.

They also required a criminal code, a gospel of murder and spoliation, but they could not draw up a more skilful manual of proscription, business, artifice, and death, than that of the Dominicans. Even the genius of Loyola was forced to bow before this sinister work, and the Spanish order adopted the black book of the Inquisitors. All the subtilties that are interwoven in it, all the cruelty that stains its pages, harmonised with their designs, and pointed out to them the most direct road to gain their ends. They substituted it for the Decalogue, for Christian maxims, and only modified it in practice, in order to adjust it to their means of action.

They abridged the procedure of the Holy Office, in itself so rapid, tortuous, and cruel. The Dominicans spied, tracked, and punished individuals; when, by any accident, they burned two hundred persons at once, it was a monster *auto da fè*, an extraordinary ceremony; but what were two hundred persons to the Jesuits? What import-

ance could such an execution possess in a country where Protestantism was legally recognised, as in France; where it counted the largest number of sectaries, as in Bohemia, Austria, or Hungary; or where it exercised sovereign authority, as in Northern Germany? In such cases, entire peoples must be exterminated, thousands of towns, opulent cities and capitals, be fired, *ad majorem Dei gratiam*. The Inquisition judged without confronting the accused with the witnesses, and admitted the depositions of the most infamous persons; the Jesuits condemned cities, provinces, and nations in their mysterious counsels, after which armed missions, dragonnades, massacres, and internecine war bore death and ruin to the land whither the court without appeal had ordered them. The number of the victims did not disturb them, the solitude created by murder did not terrify them, for vast domains fell into their hands, as splendid waifs to reward their creatures and hangmen. The confiscations, besides, went on their usual course, and were only child's play for these bold speculators.

When special judgments became necessary to terrify nations beforehand and prevent revolt, or, after a victory, to consolidate its results and spread terror and confusion around, the gloomy code of the Inquisition played its part. All guarantees and means of defence were suppressed, the law of nature was annihilated, the most elementary principles of justice were ignored, under the pretext that the importance of the Faith required exceptional measures.* An exception from the immutable and universal

* All these ferocious subtilties have passed into the present legis-

rules of equity, the laws of morality, and the precepts of the Gospel—surely, that is a curious mode of arguing! And torture presided, twisted limbs, lacerated the flesh, and dislocated the bones of schismatics and free thinkers, and whole families died beneath the glaive, disappeared in the flames and in the impenetrable depths of the dungeons guarded by the crafty priests.

Not only was the Manual of the Inquisitors the secret guide of the Jesuits, their breviary and charter, but this bible of servitude, tears, and carnage has become the political code of a great country which they for a lengthened period governed as absolute masters. Any one who reads attentively the history of Austria, and compares the acts of the government with the precepts of the Manual, will see that the Habsburgs studied in this book alone the art of leading men. Their gloomy fanaticism regarded seriously all the maxims of the book of extermination, and they carried their tyranny to a degree of blind fury it had never previously attained. Odious fecundity of evil! the instructions drawn up by a cautious, greedy, and stern order, inspired an order still more disloyal, greedy, and sanguinary, installed persecution on the throne, and finally created a political Hades, whence issued

lation of Austria. Take, for instance, Art. 337 of the Penal Code: "As the defence of innocence is one of the duties of the criminal judge, the accused can neither ask for an advocate to be allowed him, nor for communication of the charges laid against him." What a revolting argument! A little further on, Art. 377 requires that, "in affairs of state, and under penalty of complicity, a wife should denounce her husband, brother brother, father son, and thus in succession through all the members of the family." May we not fancy we are reading a passage from the Inquisitors' Manual?

nought but complaints, groans, prayers, and maledictions, soon to be transformed into the babbling of idiocy.

The traces of the primitive Church had long passed away, when St. Ambrosius arrested the Emperor Theodosius on the square of the cathedral of Milan, reproached him with the carnage of Thessalonica, and reminded him that he was but dust and ashes like other men; when he imposed on him a public penance, and forced from him a decree that the execution of all capital sentences pronounced by sovereigns should in future be adjourned for a month, so that they might have time to recognise their faults if anger had led their judgment astray. The priests no longer succoured the orphans, no longer consoled the afflicted, no longer visited the captives, nor lived, as heretofore, in abstinence and humility.

CHAPTER XVII.

FRENCH INFLUENCE CONTENDS AGAINST THE CLERICAL OPPRESSION.

A FOREIGN influence, however, was about to combat and gradually destroy the absolute authority of the Jesuits on the banks of the Danube. It is not generally known to what an extent French ideas penetrated into Germany in the eighteenth century. They filtered through, rose and descended in every direction, but the greatest favour was shown them among the higher classes. Kings, ministers, princes, in fact the whole aristocracy, accelerated the movement. The French philosophic system, literature, fashions, language, and manners invaded the Germanic states in turn; spring breezes, which fertilise an entire region, do not blow with more certainty and regularity. Had the transformation of 1789 not taken place in France, or had it been delayed ten years longer, it would have regenerated Germany before infusing a new life into the French, and instead of turning against that country, and entering on the gloomy path of re-

action, the Germanic peoples would have outstripped the French on the path of progress.

The French influence found a more facile access to the banks of the Elbe and the Oder than to those of the Danube. The important and salutary part Henri Quatre was preparing to play beyond the Rhine, when mysterious manœuvres ended his life with such cruel timeliness; the fortunate intervention of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin in the Thirty Years' War; the subsidies granted at that period by French ministers to the Lutheran princes leagued against the House of Austria; the intelligent activity of the Marquis de Feuquières, the Comte d'Avaux, Abel Servien and the Duke of Longueville; and the numerous advantages the treaty of Westphalia ensured the Protestants, had gained France the favour of Northern Germany and of the peoples living along her frontier. The prosperity, luxury, and successes of Louis XIV. dazzled the Germanic sovereigns of the same territorial divisions, and it grew the fashion to imitate the pomp of his festivals, and the splendour of his edifices, in so far as the resources of each state permitted. Christian, Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, displayed such a predilection for France, that, during the year 1603, he proceeded to Paris to abjure Protestantism, and adopted the name of Louis. In all his decrees he added to his signature "Knight of the Order of his Most Christian Majesty." In the same year that he submitted to the Pope he concluded a treaty with France, in which he not only authorised her to raise levies in his states, but promised to deliver up, in case of need, his fortress of Dœmitz. When Louis XIV. desired to annihilate Holland for some news-

paper articles that offended his pride, this Gallomaniac joined him with his troops, despite of his council and chancellor.

At the same period, Ferdinand Marie, Elector of Bavaria, peopled his court with Frenchmen, and being handsomely subsidised by France, declared openly that he would take no part in a war against that country. The Elector of Cologne behaved in a similar way; and the Electors of Mayence and Hanover and the Duke of Würtemberg followed their example, without any scruple in accepting the protection and liberality of Louis XIV.

A great number of marriages concluded between German princes and young French ladies increased the influence of France in Teutonic countries. In 1648, Duke George of Mömpelgard Würtemberg married Anne de Coligny; the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin took as his second wife, during the lifetime of his first, Angélique Montmorency de Boutteville, widow of the Duke de Châtillon; while Maximilian Philip, Duke of Bavaria, espoused a Demoiselle de la Tour, daughter of the Duke of Bouillon. The queen-mother, by her skilful manœuvres, forced on the Elector of Brandenburg the warlike Mademoiselle de Montpensier, whom Louis XIV. called a gendarme. On the other hand, Germany sent France several princesses: the king himself chose for the dauphin Marie Anne of Bavaria, while Elizabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine, was substituted, much against her will, in 1671; for the first wife of the Duke of Orleans. But the list of international alliances in the seventeenth century would be as long as it would be wearisome: hence we will refrain from drawing it up.

These intimate relations and the ascendancy of France, which gained fresh strength daily, induced a multitude of French persons to seek fortune beyond the Rhine, where they occupied the most diversified positions, and carried on every trade. Chamberlains, valets, maids of honour, grooms, waiting-maids, cooks, skilful gamblers, femmes galantes, and adventurers settled in Germany, like a swarm of locusts. The young princes had French tutors, and the princesses French governesses. The French idiom, manners, and dress passed from the palace to the citizens, from the citizens to the lower classes. Luxury increased proportionately, and the old German rudeness was metamorphosed into a love of sensual pleasures and effeminate and delicate manners.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which should have weakened French influence between the Elbe and the Baltic, as it was a persecution directed against that Reformation sustained with so much zeal and such painful sacrifices by the Northern peoples, had a quite opposite effect, and augmented sensibly the influence France exercised beyond the Rhine. The flower of the nation traversed the frontier, and could not but excite the minds to a higher pitch, and increase public esteem for the French race. The victims were not confounded with the persecutor, or the subjects with the government. The Lutheran states hastened to welcome the immigrants: Brandenburg, Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony, the Margrave of Baireuth, and the free cities evinced a lively interest in them, and sought, in every possible way, to make them forget their misfortunes. Frederick William,

Elector of Brandenburg, displayed the most ardent sympathy for them; a number of Frenchmen already adorned his court; he had given his daughter a thoroughly French education, and the proscripts were astounded at hearing their idiom spoken without any accent. When the elector organised a corps entirely composed of nobles, the exiles formed three regiments in it. The French held the first offices at the Lutheran courts; the diplomatic duties were specially reserved for them, as their natural skill gave them a decided advantage over the native diplomatists. The preceptors and instructors of the young princes were equally chosen among them, and they taught their pupils the art of polite behaviour. All the nobility soon entrusted their children to them, and as the citizens would not remain in the rear, colleges and schools for both sexes were speedily founded in all the large towns. French books, good or bad, spread more and more. In Berlin, the fugitives started as publishers, and created French printing-offices. A few journals and reviews emanated from them, such as the "Bibliothèque Germanique," which came out for thirty-nine years, from 1720 up to 1759. The proscripts collected at various points in Germany, and formed entire communes, among which we may notice Friedrichsdorf and Dornholzhausen in Hesse, where French still continues to be spoken.

So many material advantages, a moral influence so extended, could not fail to arouse envy and even excite hatred. The hideous ravages committed by French troops in the Palatinate in 1689, their eight years' struggle against Germany up to the peace of Ryswick,

the War of Succession in Spain, which renewed hostilities three years later, were occasions and pretexts which allowed rancour to be let loose, and numerous and venomous pamphlets, intended to combat French influence, reveal the extension it acquired. One of the most furious writers vented his spleen thus:

"Who is there among us, erring and degenerate Germans, that has contrived to be on his guard against the deceitful glare of our neighbours? Who has not carried to France his money and hereditary fortune, the blood of our rustics and our citizens, and thrown it out of window, to bring back in exchange rags like spider webs, the art of bending the back like cats, of paying many vulgar compliments, but, above all, a false and trivial mind, an empty purse, and, what is still worse, a very evil conscience? For I know not how many years we only think, speak, rhyme, sing, desire, see, hear, and scent French faces, mouths, kitchens, beverages, and uncleanliness. Our fine language stinks in our nostrils; we have banished the heroic accents of the Teutons, and paraded on our banners French flippancy. Our children learn to read French before the catechism and the paternoster; and to make French grimaces, bows, and compliments before studying God's word."

The French Machiavel (*Machiavellus Gallicus*) employs language even more insulting; this is how it characterises French policy: "It is forgetfulness of God and his commandments, a proscription of all modesty and honour, an obstinate war against all virtue, an annihilation of justice and law, a repudiation both of fidelity and loyalty, a quintessence of all shame and vices, a model

of treason and a want of loyalty, the image of the most impious corruption."

Another pamphleteer indicates the dangers of any predilection for France: "We wish to defend our towns and fields, and our opponents have for a long time kept our minds in subjection; our manners, language, and dress, our interior and exterior, have become French; and we pretend to treat and pursue the French as enemies! But no man of common sense will doubt that where the intellect is invaded and held in captivity by the foreigner, few men will fight seriously for the independence, faith, and safety of the country; many desire, on the contrary, the domination of the people they admire."

"To speak French almost continually," says a politician of the same school, "appears a habit entailing no inconvenience; but there is a poison concealed behind this custom. French servants who express themselves properly, letters and correspondence, romances, and other books, instil into the heart peculiar esteem and affection for the model people." †

A still more staunch and practical patriot sought how French influence over Germany might be lessened, and believing that he had made precious discoveries, he published, in 1689, a Latin pamphlet, bearing one of those lengthy titles in accordance with the taste of the age: "Admirable Means to resist the most inveterate Enemy of the Emperor and the Empire, to lower the Power, and humiliate the Pride of the French People, and to recover

* Das neugierige und veränderte Deutschland, pp. 208 and 213.

† Deutschland's Macht gegen angrenzende Königreiche und Länder.

without Difficulty the lost Territory. By a sincere German, at Germanopolis."* The measures proposed by the Gallophobist are as follow;

To admit no French delegate or envoy to the German courts, or no officer belonging to that nation, among the Germanic troops.

To prohibit the use of the French language, interdicting it especially to females, for the disastrous consequences of this public pestilence cannot be sufficiently expressed.

To employ no French chamberlain or groom of the chambers at the Teutonic courts.

To look with an eye of suspicion on any one who maintains intimate relations with the French.

To forbid native literati receiving any pension from his Most Christian Majesty, because they are first dazzled by the glitter of foreign gold, and then corrupt the minds of their pupils.

Not to admit, in addition, or tolerate any Frenchman in Germany; to treat them with the utmost contempt, and employ their very name as an insulting expression.

To prohibit everything coming from France, especially fashions, customs, and usages.

As a last precaution, to keep a federal army perpetually stationed on the banks of the Rhine.

This Teutomaniac did not spare the lash, as will be seen. Finally, as we do not wish to multiply extracts, in spite of the importance they possess for history, the

* Media quibus abjuratissimo Cæsaris Imperiique hosti Gallo mirè resisti, ejus potentia et fastus infringi, amissaque facilius recuperari possunt, à sincero Germano.—*Germanopoli*, 1689.

author of "Curious and Transformed Germany" wished that his countrymen should abstain from visiting France: "What do our youths learn," he exclaims, "after passing the frontier, save to chatter French, practise the vain artifices of fencing, to dance, and pay compliments? Traverse the empire, and ask what we have gained, either during war or peace, since we have received among us so many Frenchmen, who wield the spoon better than the pen, the sword, or any other honourable implement? They are, however, given high offices, because they know how to make grimaces, set in action the policy and tricks of their country, purchase places, and corrupt the authorities."

All these infallible expedients failed before the laws regulating the development of civilisation, and French influence, so propitious to Germany, was destined to pursue its invading march through the north.

In the south, Austria barred the passage: for hatred, distrust, and the utmost absolute despotism defended this Catholic and diplomatic China from the French ideas. Since the victory of the Ultramontane faction, the lash held undivided sway over the various peoples prostrate before the throne of the Habsburgs. The autocrats had borrowed this handy instrument of domination from their neighbours, the Turks, and for the slightest fault the docile and humble subjects of the imperial family were beaten. The regular or official number of blows was twenty-five, but, as the Bohemians endured with impatience this style of punishment, it was divided for them into quarter, half, or three-quarters.

According to the nature of the crime, the condemned

underwent the shlag or the pillory, in the court-yard of the prison where abandoned women were confined, beneath the doorway of the Palace of Justice, or in a cell without any witnesses, which was regarded as an alleviation of the punishment.

Enervated by misfortune, brutalised by a perfidious education, the people tranquilly accepted these proofs of paternal interest and solicitude. If human dignity gained little, the Habsburgs profited hugely, for, by debasing and degrading the nation, they strengthened their own authority. But such a régime did not open the door to French influence, and was not at all in harmony with the ideas at that time fermenting in France, and which paved the way for the declaration of the rights of man.

The emperor was adored and served as neither more nor less than a deity: he resided in his palace as in a temple, and only showed himself at remote intervals to mortals. The most inflexible, minute, fatiguing, and monotonous ceremonial was kept up in honour of him, and Spanish etiquette was commingled with the servile behaviour of Turkey. Leopold I. and Charles VI. evinced a lively horror for everything coming from France—clothes, fashions, and manners—and even the language during their reign was banished from court. Only Italian, or the peculiar dialect of Vienna, a very marked patois, was spoken: the sovereign and the nobility wore the same attire as at Madrid; black haut-de-chausses, doublet and cloak, with red shoes and stockings.

If any one dared to appear at court in the French garb, with white silk stockings, Charles VI. had no hesitation

in saying aloud, "There is another of those cursed Frenchmen."

The clergy sedulously fostered every feeling hostile to France: for the free manners, sarcastic language, and scepticism displayed in that country, inspired them with profound aversion. They were, it must be remembered, absolute masters of Austria; the hereditary states alone contained fifteen hundred monasteries and five hundred convents, chiefly inhabited by the Mendicant orders, the Franciscans possessing three hundred, and the Capuchins two hundred. But no congregation could be compared with the Jesuits for revenue and property.

An extraordinary pomp was displayed in all religious ceremonies. The Pope having canonised, in 1729, John Nepomuck, the holiest man Bohemia produced, Prague and the capital of Austria rivalled each other in the celebration of this great event. The fêtes, in which the court, nobility, and people took part, lasted no less than eight days. At Vienna, a purple drapery adorned the whole interior of the cathedral, while the entire population of Bohemia flocked within the walls of Prague. Four hundred processions arrived in that city, one after the other, from different towns, with banners flying to the sound of instruments and canticles. They brought with them the most remarkable products of their territory: Bunzlau sent garnets and rubies; Prachin, its pearls and gold dust; Czaslau, silver ore; Grudim, some lumps of crystal; Leitmeritz, wine; Saaz, wheat; Rakonitz, its rock salt; Königsgrätz, its pheasants; Pilsen, a lamb white as snow; and Kaurzim, evergreen trees. A prodigious illumination lit up the hundred towers of Prague.

Few weeks, or even days passed, without one or more processions defiling through the streets of Vienna, leaving a church, chapel, or monastery, and proceeding to another edifice in the capital, marching to a neighbouring village, or even making a pilgrimage to some celebrated spot fifteen or twenty leagues distant. Many went to adore the miraculous statue of the Virgin at Mariazell in Styria: all the young women in Austria went and offered it their wedding-rings, so that they might not lose them, which was, without the least doubt, an infallible remedy.

But some stranger sights attracted public attention: often men might be seen naked to the waist, and holding a cat-o'-nine-tails in their hand, who ran about the streets and squares flagellating themselves with fanatic ardour. With eyes turned heavenward, singing psalms, filling the air with cries and groans, allowing their blood to run beneath the expiatory lashes, they spent the night at cross-roads, in cemeteries, or around monasteries. Other enthusiasts, in order to imitate the Saviour, dragged along the pavement large crosses during Lent: the larger the cross, the more meritorious was the penance, and these vast machines impeded circulation in the streets.

In 1652, Ferdinand III. ordered that all Austrians should kneel on the passage of the holy sacrament, and disobedience would be punished by fine, confiscation, or corporal punishments. In 1730, the wife of a Prussian ambassador, who believed herself authorised to neglect this injunction in consideration of her religious belief and the privileges attached to diplomatic posts, nearly paid dearly for her act of independence.

She was in a carriage with her daughter, when a priest, bearing the viaticum to a sick person, passed along the road. She ordered her carriage to stop, but did not get out, and this incomplete display of reverence annoyed and irritated the mob, who compelled the ladies to get out and kneel on the public road. Madame Brand resisted, cried aloud that she was the wife of the Prussian ambassador, and that the law of nations was being violated in her person. The crowd grew more and more excited, and would probably have ended by ill-treating her, had not the priests had the good sense to interfere.

The court of Berlin complained, and rightly so; some of the fanatics were arrested, and William I. was contented with making them confess their fault and ask for pardon while humbly kneeling to his ambassador.

The position of those diplomatists who professed the orthodox religion was possibly even less agreeable, for the emperor expected them to be present at every devotional office, and these were so long, gloomy, and monotonous, that they would have terrified a recluse. And yet to see the malicious tricks of Fortune! In 1726, France was represented at this severe, precise, and monastic court, by a free thinker, a gallant personage, entirely devoted to his own pleasures—by the Duke of Richelieu, in a word. I will leave you to imagine the face his clever lordship made during the interminable offices at which his position compelled him to be present. After Lent, he felt a necessity to relieve his heart, and wrote the following letter to Cardinal Polignac:

"I have lived here, during Lent, a pious life, which did

not leave me a quarter of an hour a day at liberty, and I confess that had I known the existence an ambassador leads here, nothing in nature would have induced me to accept this post, where, under pretext of invitations and presentations at chapel, the emperor makes ambassadors follow him like so many valets de chambre. Only a Capuchin in the rudest state of health could resist this life during Lent. To give your eminence an idea of it, I was *one hundred hours* at church with the emperor between Palm Sunday and the Wednesday after Easter. M. le Comte de Luc, who stayed eighteen months here, nine or ten of which he spent before having his entry and the rest in being ill, left us in ignorance of this treasure of devotion, which I have just discovered at my expense. I confess to a belief that devotion requires a little more liberty, and this unheard-of restraint experienced here, and unknown at any other court in the world, is to me something insupportable, and I cannot refrain from venting my ill temper by writing to your eminence."

We thus see that the Duke of Richelieu, a poor French greenfinch confined in the cage of the Habsburgs, at length felt broken-hearted. But what answer did his eminence make to him? His consolations deserve perusal:

"As to the picture you have drawn of themann er in which you have fulfilled all the duties of Lent, the Holy Week, and Easter, I believe I cannot do better than congratulate you at their termination; probably, you never did so much in your life. Imagine precisely the same thing of a cardinal at Rome, but it is true we are paid for it!"

The confession is bold and amusing; a prince of the Church declares to the friend and patron of Voltaire that his emoluments alone inspire him with courage to endure the holy expiations of Lent! The prelate, when he wrote these lines, was not under the influence of that pious zeal which made him declare war against Lucretius!

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EMPRESS MARIA THERESA: HER EXALTED DEVOTION AND INTOLERANCE.

WHEN Maria Theresa ascended, in 1741, the "Hill of the Oath," not far from Presburg, it might have been believed that Austria was about to be regenerated and enter on a new era of strength, glory, and prosperity. Around the mount thronged the Hungarian aristocracy in their picturesque costumes and on their magnificent horses. The handsome figure of the empress, the brilliancy of her complexion, her charming features, and her grey eyes, animated by the most lively expression, realised the noble type and graces of her mother, Elizabeth of Brunswick, and had nothing in common with the Habsburgs. The emotion produced by the ceremony and the heat of the day, had, if we may employ the expression, tinged her face with a heavenly radiance; the alarm, the terrible league formed against her, inspired her with the hope of victory, and the resolution of entering on the struggle with inflexible courage added a dramatic interest

to her natural prestige. Her lofty form, her long hair, which fell in golden masses on her shoulders, her brocade dress and her mantle of crimson velvet lined with ermine, endowed her with an imposing, almost superhuman, appearance. When, at length, seizing the drawn sword of Stephen with heroic impatience, she swore to observe faithfully the laws and customs of the Magyars, and then tracing in the air a cross to the four points of the horizon, promised to defend the country against all adversaries, wherever they might come from, a thrill of admiration ran through the assembly, and cries of enthusiasm and protestations of devotion saluted the young queen.

And yet the happy future of which she appeared the prognostic and the pledge was not realised. Doubtless, Maria Theresa saved the monarchy by the help of the Hungarians, but she only rescued it from external foes. She did not cure the internal evils that preyed upon it; she did not destroy the deplorable influence of old principles, nor regenerate either the government or the nation. In this young and graceful body resided the spirit of the past: the freshness of the face masqued the decrepitude of her ideas. The gloomy Spanish genius and the paltry and intolerant devotion of Ferdinand II. pursued Maria Theresa like two phantoms, and inspired her with the greater part of her actions, her language, and her political measures.

She usually devoted five hours a day to pious exercises, and often more. So strange as this may appear in a sovereign otherwise very active and busy, the fact does not admit of the slightest doubt, attested as it is by numerous witnesses. Her superstitious ardour increased

with time: thus, in March, 1778, she remained for three hours on her knees in public, in the cathedral of Vienna, while praying the Lord to avert from her the war with which she was menaced for the Bavarian succession. One of her daughters, the Archduchess Elizabeth, confessed one day to a lady that when she followed her mother to chapel, the service lasted so long that she understood neither what she said nor what she heard.

During Lent, the empress obstinately carried out all the prescriptions of the Church; no Carmelite observed a more rigorous fast, or mortified herself with more ardent exaltation. The archduchesses were constrained to imitate her abstinence and give way to the same excesses of piety. This conventual devotion was not at all to their taste; and one of them fell a victim to it under really tragical circumstances.

The Archduchess Josepha, sixth daughter of the empress, charmed everybody by her beauty, and gained all hearts by her affable manners. Ferdinand IV., king of Sicily, had asked the hand of her elder sister, the Archduchess Jane, but she had died in 1762, before the period fixed for the marriage. After some years it was decided that the amiable Josepha should be substituted for her; the fiancée was to depart on the 15th of September, 1767, and all preparations had been made, when a mournful scene of piety rendered them superfluous.

Maria Theresa did not wish her to leave Austria before conforming to the customs of the family, and accomplishing her devotions among the tombs of her ancestors, in the church of the Capuchins. She therefore insisted that her daughter should go and pray in the

crypt, and Josepha evinced a great repugnance in obeying, as if foreseeing her hapless fate. She implored her mother not to impose on her so mournful a ceremony, against which an insurmountable horror and mysterious terror caused her to revolt. But the empress was fixed as destiny, and the archduchess burst into tears as she entered the carriage which would bear her to the monastery, and shuddered as she went down the steps that led to the crypt.

Three months previously her sister-in-law, the second wife of the Emperor Joseph II., had been buried there; she had died of small-pox, that scourge of the House of Austria, which the Habsburgs could not resist. The malady had made such ravages on the princess, that the operation of embalming was deemed necessary. Her body diffused a frightful odour, and the report ran even among the populace that, in spite of all sanitary measures, the miasma from the corpse still pervaded the tomb. The result justified this opinion, for the archduchess had scarce quitted the gloomy tenement of the dead, than she was attacked by a dull feeling of uneasiness. Soon after the small-pox declared itself, the efforts of science failed against this terrible evil, and on the 15th of October, just a month before the day fixed for her departure, the young princess breathed her last sigh. The crowns laid upon tombs were substituted for her nuptial coronet, and the mourning tapers formed the only illumination in her honour.

The heart of a mother, however much it may be fortified against natural feelings, does not receive such blows without shuddering. The empress, from this time,

went alone to pray to God in the gloomy necropolis. But she only spared her daughters this mournful ceremony; on all other occasions, they must imitate her exaggerated devotion. If they failed at any pious office, she openly displayed her ill-humour, inquired the reason of their absence, and reprimanded them on the following day.

As the English tourist Wraxall very justly remarks, her education and habits destined her to bear the crosier of an abbess, rather than govern an empire.

Heretics of all confessions inspired her with lively repugnance; she firmly believed that not one would enter heaven, and that Divine mercy would remain deaf to their prayers. But she particularly detested the English, who seemed to her more obstinate than the others, more remote from the true faith and repentance. When her youngest son, the Archduke Maximilian, wished to visit France and the Low Countries, she enforced on him not to cross the sea under any pretext. The fear lest he might be infected by the irreligious principles and manners of Great Britain was the cause of this severe prohibition. She demanded a similar promise from the Emperor Joseph II. when he visited Paris in 1777. "The English," she said to him, "are nearly all, without exception, incredulous free thinkers and deists. I tremble lest any connexion with such a people might injure your character, or shake your confidence in all that the Christians who have remained faithful regard as sacred."

When old age and a monstrous obesity had rendered it impossible for Maria Theresa to go to church or even to her oratory, measures had to be taken lest her pious habits might be infringed. Since her husband's death,

she had not quitted the third floor of the palace, and below her apartment a chapel was arranged. When the hour for mass arrived, mechanical apparatus opened the floor, the priest went up to the altar, and Maria Theresa followed the service without leaving her easy-chair.

Her extreme devotion entailed unpleasant consequences on her subjects, the first being a violent, austere, minute, and indefatigable proselytism. For many years a pious foundation existed in Austria, with a revenue of six hundred thousand florins, distributed in pensions to renegades from Protestantism. Great favour was shown to these men during the reign of the empress; for non-Catholics might esteem it a special mark of kindness to be merely tolerated. Appealing to a pretended right to reform minds and morals, Maria Theresa carried her intolerance so far as to seize a large body of Lutherans still residing in Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Styria, and transfer them to the Banat and Transylvania, where the Saxon race enjoyed religious liberty; and she called this tyrannical measure a transplantation, thus comparing men with vegetables. But the latter die without any pain; men endure long suffering before the final agony. But what did the fanatic sovereign care? The poor Dissenters were forced to sell their property at absurdly small prices, for any sum that might be offered them. In the provinces whither they were carried they found neither land, nor work, nor resources, for mountainous countries are always very poor. They therefore ate up the scanty sum of money they brought with them, after which poverty opened their door one evening, came in like a ghost to sit at their fireside, and joined its tortures to the wretch-

edness of exile and persecution. They finally succumbed, after useless efforts to contend against unbounded misfortune.

In the provinces, religious commissioners sharply watched the Lutherans and Calvinists: they were deprived by force of the books in which their doctrines were explained, and they were prevented from communicating their principles to their children. "In spite of this," writes the High Chancellor Fürst, "there is still an infinite number of Protestants who hold their opinions in secret, and only profess Catholicism externally."

The second painful consequence produced by the exaltation of the empress was an oppressive care for the salvation and morality of her subjects. She unscrupulously carried off from their families rich heiresses professing Lutheranism, shut them up in convents, and eventually married them to courtiers devoted to the orthodox system. Thus the Countess Banffy was, for instance, treated, whose brother had abjured Protestantism, and became afterwards governor of Transylvania. The young lady was educated in that province under the eyes of a relation, who impregnated her with her own zeal for Calvinism. The two orphans belonged to a powerful family, possessing numerous domains on the banks of the Samos and the Maros: they were the last representatives of the elder branch. None of these motives had any weight with Maria Theresa; she sent a squadron to carry off the countess, had her brought to Vienna, and instructed in the Ultramontane doctrines. When her education was over, she enrolled the countess among her maids of honour, and married her,

in 1778, to Count John Esterhazy, her fellow-countryman, who died in our time, so recently as 1831.

Maria Theresa multiplied these forced marriages, which produced at times ridiculous, at others deplorable, results. In this way she united, through political reasons, Count Francis Esterhazy, a man she had protected from infancy, of a gentle and quiet character, with a Starhemberg, a charming woman in other respects, but passionate, violent, and untamable. A daring gallant of the name of Schulenburg soon carried off the lady, and took her to Switzerland. Maria Theresa demanded their extradition through her ambassador, and the Confederation surrendered the amorous fugitives. The lover was condemned to death as a seducer, but the husband, whom this fortunate adventure delivered for ever from his wife, did not wish the young man to be so badly requited for a service so eminent. He interceded, obtained his pardon, and overwhelmed him with attentions and kindness.*

Every year bands of common women were seized, whom the empress sent off to Croatia or Slavonia, without inquiring whether she did not thus corrupt the morals of certain provinces while improving those of the great towns and the capital. A strange institution revealed her modest zeal: she formed fifty commissions of chastity, which were to watch over the morals of her subjects night and day. The members of this virgin police incessantly went about the streets and squares of Vienna, arresting and taking to the lock-up any female who dared

* Vehse: Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Hofes, vol. vii. p. 306.

to appear alone in public. However decent their dress and demeanour might be, although the most pressing necessity compelled them to go out, or they were carrying work home, they were obliged to follow the followers of virtue to the main guard. Only one method permitted free circulation, and that was to carry openly a rosary and a prayer-book, as if they were returning from church.

The young debauchees, the natural enemies of these guardians of chastity, suffered severe punishments. Thus, in 1752, a band of libertines, who respected neither the laws of abstinence nor those of modesty, were arrested at Nussdorf, near Vienna, their usual place of meeting. Among them were the two sons of the burgomaster of Dantzig; but though their father offered a heavy sum to save them, the last of the Habsburgs was inexorable, and they expiated in the pillory their love of good cheer and pretty faces.

CHAPTER XIX.

FRANCIS OF LORRAINE, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA—MARIA THERESA'S PASSIONATE LOVE FOR HIM—FIRST REFORMS.

A SECRET motive urged the ardent sovereign to display this rigour: her husband was beginning to grow tired of his fidelity to her. No pretty face passed him with indifference, no pleasant smile escaped his attention. Devoted and impassioned, the empress kept all her tenderness for him, and gave up, through religious scruples, her right of reprisals. Her piety kept guard over her love, concentrated it in her heart, and made it burn like a devouring flame. An official letter, written in French by Count Podewill, on the 10th of January, 1747, proves that people knew all about the imperial marriage.

"It is evident," the ambassador writes, "that she is very jealous of her husband, and that she does all in the world to prevent him forming any attachment. She treats with great harshness certain ladies with whom the emperor stood on any familiarity. For the same reason, she would like to banish gallantry from her court. She

displays extreme contempt for any ladies who carry on intrigues, and evinces nearly as much to the men who seek them. I know that one day she spoke very sharply to Count Esterhazy, for whom she has a great friendship, and who always takes a place at her play-table, because he had an intrigue with the wife of Count d'Althann. She seeks to remove from the emperor all those who give themselves up to gallantry, and it is asserted that the Count of Colloredo (vice-chancellor), who professes it, will never succeed in gaining her good graces. He was, indeed, for some time in a sort of disgrace because he joined the prince in some parties of pleasure. The same thing has occurred to several others. She would like to have a bourgeois ménage."

The commissions of chastity enabled her to learn all the actions and movements of Francis I., for the modest agents guarded the fidelity of the prince. In this way several kingdoms were kept in a state of penitence, owing to the gallantries of the emperor, and that his love might be reserved, as far as was possible, for the jealous tenderness of his wife!

The religious exaltation to which Maria Theresa gave way had this regrettable consequence, that it made her fall incessantly into the snares of hypocrites, and her very sincerity came to their aid. As she proceeded publicly to mass, the deceivers were careful to arrive simultaneously with her, and neglected nothing to excite her attention. They knelt within her sight, fell on their faces, held their arms up as if in a spirit of mortification, recited their prayers with a feigned ardour, with passionate outbreaks, and continual sobs. Writing, or translating pious works,

or books of a devotional character, was also a sure way of pleasing her, and obtaining her protection and good graces. The courtiers disdained no act of hypocrisy to gain her favour, and reach the object of their covetousness. The chamberwomen and footmen trafficked with their influence over the empress, or the privilege of speaking to her, which they owed to their places; and they recommended to her worthy personages reeking with sanctity, who had previously greased their hands.

The piety of the sovereign assumed a character more gloomy and fervent, more Spanish, in a word, after the sudden death of her beloved husband. On the 18th of August, 1765, Francis died of an attack of apoplexy at the royal castle of Innsbrück, where he had gone to celebrate the marriage of his second son, the Duke of Tuscany, afterwards emperor under the name of Leopold II. He fell as if struck by lightning, and died instantaneously. Nothing could console his widow, in spite of the courage she displayed in herself preparing his winding-sheet. She would not see any one for several days, and hastened the arrangements of the cortége which would carry the body of the defunct to Vienna, *viâ* the Inn and the Danube.

This sudden misfortune also profoundly affected the exquisite Princess of Auersperg, the emperor's last mistress, who had followed the court to the Tyrol, and a solemn occasion soon brought the two rivals face to face. The mortuary flotilla was moored off Hall, awaiting the signal for departure, and the empress wished to appear once more in public before the mournful voyage. When she came out of her cabinet, she found all the noble lords and ladies

arranged on the right hand, while on the left the Princess Auersperg stood alone, shunned like a pariah by the calculating courtiers. She was completely attired in black, and her long veil could not conceal the tears that glistened on her cheeks. A disdainful smile played round the empress's lips as she examined the band of courtiers, for nearly all had displayed an unbounded complaisance towards the countess while she exercised an influence due to her beauty, but now not one wished to appear to know her. After convincing herself of their servile alarm, Maria Theresa approached the fair deserted one, and offered her hand, saying these words aloud: "*We* have really suffered a heavy loss, my dear." She then honoured the other persons grouped on her right hand with a few words, according to their order and rank. Immediately the whole court pressed round the young lady they had avoided five minutes before.

Maria Theresa transformed the apartment in which the emperor died into a chapel, the altar being erected at the spot where he drew his last breath, while a band of nuns was chosen to pray constantly for the soul of the defunct.

During fifteen years the empress wore the strictest mourning. She had her hair cut off as if she belonged to a monastic order; her dresses, her furniture, and her carriages, were invariably black. She quitted the first floor of the palace at Vienna, where she had resided with her husband, and confined herself to the third; and all the walls were hung with black velvet. On the 18th of every month she shut herself up in her apartments, and was visible to no one; and she passed in the same way the whole month of August, in which the emperor had been so suddenly torn from her affection. She thus re-

mained, isolated and inaccessible, during forty-two days in the year.

She ordered her tomb to be erected, during her lifetime, near that of Francis, and had her epithet carved, all but the final date. The hour had only to strike and she was ready to depart; her abode was prepared in the regions of eternal silence. Towards the end of her life she spent entire hours daily in a gloomy chapel, before a crucifix, whose only ornaments were death's heads. To the right was the statue of the emperor, executed after his decease; to the left that of the empress herself, as she would appear when the crisis of agony had ended her reign. As she was incapable of moving, she had herself lowered several times in a chair into the vault where her dear Francis was enjoying his eternal sleep. During the last visit, when the empress was about to be lifted out, the cords broke, and this accident appeared to her an omen. "He wishes to keep me with him!" she exclaimed. "Oh! I shall soon come!" A few days later in reality she fell ill, and died on the 29th of November, 1780, at the age of sixty-four.

Maria Theresa was no ordinary woman; she possessed a strong intellect, a powerful imagination, an activity which nothing wearied, and dauntless courage. Despite the excessive devotion with which she had been inspired from her infancy, through the Spanish traditions of the Habsburgs, and the manœuvres of the Jesuits, superstition diminished during her reign. The empress moderated the violence of the edict by which Ferdinand III. had ordered every one to kneel at the passage of the Holy Sacrament, no matter the state of the sky or the pave-

ment. The necessity of obedience was limited to pedestrians, and persons in carriages were permitted to uncover their heads and bow in salutation. Devotees, however, would not profit by this toleration, they got out of their carriages and prostrated themselves before the host; but indifferent persons and free thinkers could turn back when they heard the tinkling of the sacristan's bell. Rich persons also obtained the favour of following processions and pilgrimages in their carriages, and the length of the road often gave much value to this privilege.

Maria Theresa also lessened, with the assent of the Pope, the number of religious festivals, which had multiplied beyond all bounds. But neither the clergy nor the people would admit this reform, for it increased in the country the days of average, while in the towns it wounded the most powerful of all the demons that oppress humanity—the genius of routine. No one would take advantage of the new facilities granted to labour, and the government was compelled to demand, as a duty, what the bull granted as a liberty. It ordered the construction of public buildings—among others, of the palace theatres—to be proceeded with on days formerly devoted to idleness. The police forced the tradespeople to open their shops; but this measure did not produce the desired result, for though the shops remained open, no purchaser entered, or, if any one by chance violated this dumb coalition, the tradesmen stopped him short at once by asking fabulous prices. Public folly gained a victory over the government, and the authorities, worn out by the struggle, were compelled to let the muddy stream follow its own course; but they prevented bigots flagel-

lating themselves in the streets, or dragging enormous crosses after them.

A decisive influence stifled in the heart of Maria Theresa the old hatred of the Habsburgs for the French, and made her turn her face smilingly towards a country hitherto abhorred. The emperor, whom she idolised, and by whom she had no less than sixteen children, five boys and eleven girls, belonged to an old French race; the blood of the Guises was mingled in his veins with that of the Bourbons. By his father he was grandson of the celebrated Charles of Lorraine, who, with John Sobieski, had the honour of forcing the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna; while his mother was the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. Born in France, on the 8th of December, 1708, he was thirteen years of age when he was taken to the capital of Austria, where he saw his future bride grow up. In 1729, on the death of his father, he took possession of Lorraine, and the oath of allegiance to Louis XIV. for the duchy of Bar. Seven years later, Charles VI. united him to his daughter Maria Theresa, who would inherit all his crowns, and was then twenty-seven years of age. In 1737 the young prince surrendered Lorraine to France, in exchange for the duchy of Tuscany, where the Medici family had just expired, and his wife, who had become empress, made him Emperor of Germany, on September 13, 1745.

Francis I. introduced to the Austrian court French manners, taste, language, and dress. Persons of his country have no great memory for languages, and he resembled them in this respect as in many others, and could never learn German. The higher classes were

consequently compelled to learn the emperor's tongue, although they still continued to make use of Italian, which had been in fashion for a long time, and also began to grow familiar with English.

Francis of Lorraine had in his habits and way of acting a degree of ease which frequently went beyond the bounds of courtesy. Any sort of *gêne* was to him insupportable, and he treated so familiarly, even in public, the persons with whom he was on intimate terms, that they sometimes failed in their respect to him. Spanish etiquette inspired him with the most profound horror, still he could only abolish it in part; Maria Theresa's reader, for instance, still continued to perform her duties on her knees, but, as concerned himself personally, he entirely did away with it; more especially, he would never allow ladies to kiss his hand, although etiquette required it. He began renouncing the Spanish costume on ordinary days, and then on holidays. On the most solemn occasions he went about very plainly dressed, and his magnificent jewellery alone distinguished him from the lowest courtier.

His sobriety also formed a contrast to German excess. His principal pleasures were the chase, billiards, football, dicing, and faro. He evinced a great partiality for his countrymen, and he was always surrounded by Lorrainers and Hungarians. During the war against the Turks in 1737 and 1738, the Hungarians inspired him with the highest opinion of their character and valour, and he was always their supporter and panegyrist with Maria Theresa.

When that nation rose as one man, in 1742, in order to

save Austria, the esteem and preference the princess already showed them, in spite of the odious policy hitherto pursued towards them by the Habsburgs, were changed into affection and gratitude. A few moments before her death she again expressed her thanks to them and to the Prince of Kaunitz. Alas! could she foresee that one day her descendants would treat this people of heroes like galley-slaves and bandits?

The influence of France during her reign would have been far more active if the Lorraine prince had been anything more than a husband in the palace. The descendant of Charles V. showed herself as jealous in politics as in love; she would neither share the exercise of power nor the tenderness of Francis. She had, however, caused him to be elected Emperor of Germany, and appointed him co-regent of her states, but this was only cajolery employed towards her husband, to heighten his passion and render him more loving and faithful. The autocrat did not allow him to regard his titles seriously; in grand solemnities he eclipsed himself, remained with the ladies, and was wont to say to them, "I shall wait with you till the court is dismissed. The empress and my children compose the imperial family; I am but a private individual."

He was, besides, so timid that he could look no one in the face, and so gentle, that in little domestic quarrels he usually yielded or made the first advances to bring about a reconciliation. He was present at the sittings of the Aulic Councils, but was merely a puppet. When he wished to give his advice seriously on any matter, and

his opinion was not in conformity with that of his imperious better-half, she scolded him without mercy. In a despatch of Count Podewill, written in French, we read the following characteristic passage:

"I have been assured, on good authority, that one day, at a conference, the empress having supported with a good deal of heat an opinion opposed to that of her ministers, and the emperor having expressed his views, the empress imposed silence upon him in a very harsh manner, telling him he had no right to interfere in matters he did not understand."

Although thus kept in tutelage, the docile emperor, through the predilection he had inspired Maria Theresa with for the French, exercised a remarkable influence over the policy of Austria. Still he opposed the alliance of 1756 between the court of Vienna and that of Versailles. The empress had the condescension to flatter the Marchioness de Pompadour in a letter. The two states only promised at the outset to defend each other against their enemies, but the alliance soon became offensive, and the first result was the Seven Years' War, in which Louis XV., or his minister, the Duke de Choiseul, abandoning the traditions of Richelieu and Louis XIV., worked to consolidate the eternal enemy of France, and prevent Frederick II. from forming in the north a power capable of holding it in check, and freeing all the German princes. Causes for regret soon presented themselves; and France lavished her money and her soldiers in a sanguinary contest, without gaining the slightest advantage.

But the ice was broken between the two courts, and

this first alliance determined Maria Theresa on uniting three of her daughters with Bourbons.

The first was the Archduchess Caroline, who was married, in 1768, to Ferdinand IV., King of Naples, the same who was to have married the Princesses Jane and Josepha, who both died before the ceremony. They had lost but little in not wearing the nuptial coronet, for the bridegroom possessed no qualities that could render them happy. The empress herself judged him so, for she wrote, in 1763, to the Countess of Lerchenfeld: "I regard poor Josepha as a political sacrifice; provided she does her duty to God and her husband, and secures her salvation, I should be satisfied even were she unhappy." These cruel words seemed to demand a chastisement; the sacrifice was more bitter than the autocrat had thought; she had renounced for her daughter happiness in this world, and it was the princess herself whom fate carried off!

When Ferdinand was informed of the death of his second spouse elect, he displayed considerable temper. His only occupation, his sole pleasures, were the chase and fishing, and decency demanded that he must abstain from both for at least one day. How on earth should he manage to kill time? His flatterers sought means to amuse him; but neither billiards nor cards succeeded. No project of amusement drew a smile from him, until a gentleman suddenly said, without weighing his words, "Suppose we imitate the princess's burial?" The King of Sicily found the idea charming and delicate; and a young beardless courtier of feminine appearance became the principal actor in the masquerade. He was attired like an archduchess, and laid on a bier with his hands and

face exposed; then, in order to imitate the marks of small-pox, drops of chocolate were sprinkled over his face. The ambassador of England was invited to the ceremony, and this august personage was chief mourner. The procession went through the most sumptuous chambers of the Portici Palace, and Sir William Hamilton, who always went out shooting with the king, was ordered to arrange the visits of condolence. The prince was delighted with this burlesque. Such was the way in which he deplored the unhappy end of a young and accomplished person!

For the two princesses saved by death from such an odious alliance the court of Vienna substituted the Archduchess Caroline. The marriage took place on the 12th of May, 1768. On the next morning, at an early hour, Ferdinand quitted the nuptial couch to go out shooting. His courtiers asked him as to the health of his spouse: "Oh," he replied, "dorme come un ammazata e suda come un porco!" One of the sights with which he frequently indulged his young wife was the triumph that terminated his sport. All the game he had killed was piled up before him like a hillock; the king took off his coat, put on a flannel waistcoat, and, with his hunting-knife in his hand, rushed on to the slaughtered deer. He cut open the animals, tore out their entrails, and piled them up before him to man's height. The disgusting mound steamed in the sun, while the prince, pursuing his task, covered his hands, face, and clothes with blood.

Fearing the idiocy and hallucinations which had clouded the intellects of his grandfather and great-grandfather, his parents had forbidden the young man any serious study or attention to learning. This interesting

person and his wife were the parents of Marie Amélie, ex-Queen of France.

The second archduchess, married to a Bourbon, had also the name of Amélie: she was united in 1769 to the Duke of Parma. The third is only known too well: on the 16th of May, 1770, were celebrated the nuptials of Marie Antoinette and the Dauphin of France. Although she was not quite fifteen years of age, she ascended the throne of France; but how was she fated to quit it! Her mother, however, was very desirous to see the projected union carried out, although, on the other hand, she experienced a dull alarm. When the various stipulations had been agreed on, she went to consult a nun, who lived in a convent near the capital, and was presumed to penetrate the secrets of futurity. Her daughter was, at that time, very pious, and the empress, above all, feared lest her religious zeal might be weakened. She therefore asked the religieuse if the depraved court of Louis XV. would not alter the manners and belief of the grand-duchess. "She will have great reverses," the Pythoness replied; "but then she will become pious again." This was all her second-sight discerned in the distance! The idea that the fervour of the young princess might be weakened affected Maria Theresa so deeply, that she burst into tears; and she found the greatest difficulty in overcoming her grief and regaining self-possession. This prophecy, however, did not appear to her so infallible as to authorise a rupture with the cabinet of Versailles.

Thus the emperor changed the feelings of Austria to France, morally united the two countries, and established family ties between the courts. Unhappily, he was so

slightly educated that he could at the best but read and write; and hence French influence, under his patronage, only embraced the limited circle of fashions, customs, and court language and ceremonial. But near him were three men, who opened a far wider career for French ideas on the rebellious soil of Austria. These were the Prince of Kaunitz and the two eldest sons of Maria Theresa, who became, after her death, Joseph II. and Leopold II. Each of these men deserves a special study, and must be understood by all those who wish to comprehend the present situation of Europe.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRINCE OF KAUNITZ — HIS ADMIRATION FOR FRENCH IDEAS, MANNERS, AND LITERATURE—HE UNITES THE COURTS OF VIENNA AND VERSAILLES BY A TREATY.

THE ambassador who went to represent Austria at Paris in 1751, hired as his official establishment the splendid Palais Bourbon. As his predecessors had given magnificent fêtes in less sumptuous hotels, it was assumed that he would outvie their splendour, keep open house, and give balls to all the aristocracy of Europe. Great was the surprise, therefore, at seeing him convert his splendid residence into a hermitage. The prince did not send out a single invitation: his only care and desire were to please Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour. The favourite more especially occupied his thoughts. The ingenious diplomatist saw clearly that, under an absolute monarchy, where petticoats governed the king, he must gain over the petticoats. Thus he spared neither pains, expense, nor attention to dispose in his favour the omnipotent creature who managed France.

Marmontel, whom he received very kindly, reproached him one day with the species of solitude in which he lived. The importance of the monarchy of which he was the representative, his brilliant saloons, and vast gardens, seemed to invoke the multitude, and demand banquets and festivals.

"I live in Paris for two objects," the prince replied to him: "the affairs of my empress and my pleasures. I perform my duties regularly, and keep on the best possible terms with the only persons whose favour I need to care for—the king and his mistress. I am, therefore, irreproachable on this point. As for my pleasures, that is a question solely affecting myself: a life of ostentation would weary me and overwhelm me with satiety."

Ever faithful to his system, the ambassador only received into his apartments, or his gardens, a celebrated singer of the day, Mademoiselle Gabrielli, and the flower of those amiable adventuresses who at that day contended for the love of the great lords. They frolicked beneath the shade of the trees or round the basins with that freedom of manner and careless gaiety characteristic of their giddy tribe. The discreet walks, the mysterious thickets, listened to, not grave discussion on political affairs, but easy couplets, and joyous bursts of laughter mingled with the singing of the birds.

The gallant diplomatist, who so soon assumed the manners of the highest classes, with which the eighteenth century combined a noble love of justice and an ardent passion for goodness, was one of the most singular persons Nature ever produced; but she had given him, as a compensation, superior talent. His name was Wenceslaus Anthony of

Kaunitz, and he was born in the capital of Austria on the 4th of February, 1711. As he had nineteen brothers and sisters, among whom he was one of the youngest, his parents intended him to wear the gown, and, according to the custom of the period, he was appointed, while still in the cradle, canon of Munster. By this fact it may be guessed that the Kaunitzes formed a rich and powerful family, for poor children did not obtain such rich benefices before they were weaned. The Kaunitzes, in fact, possessed very extensive domains in Moravia, where only the Lichtensteins or the Dietrichsteins could rival them in opulence. They derived their name from a patrimonial estate situated near Brünn.* Ulrich, the father of Wenceslaus, had been ambassador to several courts, and especially to Madrid; consequently the statesman who now

* The adjoining fief of Austerlitz also belonged to them. This place, which became celebrated during our time by the battle of the Three Emperors, had at that day a very different celebrity: it was the nucleus of schismatic doctrines, and contained no less than fourteen sects, among which the Anabaptists held the supremacy. They flourished there beneath the protection of Ulrich of Kaunitz, who was an ardent partisan of the Reformation. He directed the violent opposition which struggled in Moravia against the Habsburgs, and it was in his hotel, on the great square of Brünn, that the helpless Frederick V. was proclaimed king. Ulrich had the good fortune to die before the fatal battle of the White Mountain, the deplorable effects of which the whole of Germany still feels. Had he not disappeared from the scene so opportunely, the victorious reaction would have caused him to perish on the scaffold. The tribunal of blood decreed against his two sons the punishment of death and the confiscation of all their estates, but they were pardoned, and one of them married the sole heiress of Wallenstein, the most implacable scourge of the Protestants. A portion of his immense plunder remained in the hands of the Kaunitzes, and augmented their original fortune.

occupies our attention found no obstacles at the outset of his career. A gentle sloping avenue, bordered by turf and secular trees, was expanded before him, and seemed to invite him onward to receive honours.

An equally fortunate accident saved him from taking orders. Nearly all his brothers died, and his family gave up the design of making him wear the surplice. His mother, fearful of losing him like the rest of her boys, paid him the most careful attention, and watched his every respiration. This restless care infected the young prince, who displayed during his whole life a superstitious veneration for his health: his hygienic precautions surpassed the strangest inventions of the present day.

At Paris, the Austrian ambassador became before long one of the great curiosities of the day. His grave, official, and methodical manner of courting the fair sex, his imperturbable coolness when he paid them his amorous flattery, his blind confidence in the young persons who accepted his presents and his heart, were an inexhaustible source of jokes and gaiety for French society. At Brussels even, where he kept the famous courtesan Proli, people were amused by his solemn libertinism. At Paris it was a different thing: the German *petit maître* obtained an ironical success. Designers employed him as the subject of many a caricature; farce writers introduced him on the stage, and he was not at all spared in conversation. But the prince was perfectly impassive: he felt not the slightest ill-will at the jests of the Parisians, and their pin-pricks could not disturb his Olympian calmness: he opposed a majestic and unalterable serenity to their mockery and caricatures. His face remained stolid as the countenance

of a statue, his mind seemed to be hovering in a sphere inaccessible to raillery; but, in spite of this carelessness, he replied in an incisive, sharp, and clever manner, which caused surprise to the cleverest and most experienced men, and induced them to suspend their attacks. As other strategic processes were the fashion in France, the ambassador's method soon produced a sensation, and ended by finding worthy appreciators.

In addition to his natural phlegm, a powerful cause bronzed the prince and rendered him inaccessible to sarcasm. No politician of ancient or modern times ever evinced a more lively admiration or sincere attachment for France. The secret design of all his efforts, observations, and stratagems was to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance between France and Austria, after two hundred years of enmity. When the people of his choice turned him into ridicule, he did not smile, because he was never seen to smile, but he regarded the jesters with kindness and interest, like a father who amuses himself with the sports of his children.

The Prince of Kaunitz wished to prove that the eternal struggle between France and Austria, and their custom of getting up a squabble, was simply the effect of routine, —a species of traditional disturbance and absurdity. Of what use was this mutual weakening? Would it not be better to form a league, and make common cause, and thus govern Europe? Who would dare to hold head against two great continental powers when once united? The second-rate states were delighted at their disunion, for, were it not for this fatal enmity, they could not stir, but would be obliged to obey. The ambassador was

meditating, and with an extremely just instinct, a projected alliance, to which Frederick's ambition imparted a double interest.

This military and administrative genius inspired the Viennese diplomatist with continual anxiety. He would have liked to strangle it with the help of France, and keep it motionless on the sands of Brandenburg.

While he was pleading the cause of Austria in France, he therefore strove to lower and blacken that of Prussia. The courts of Versailles and Berlin were at that period united by a treaty, but Kaunitz expected to break it, for the alliance between a Catholic and Protestant prince did not appear to him very desirable. He cleverly exposed the duplicity of Frederick during the two Silesian campaigns: did he not conclude with Austria, in 1741, the secret treaty of Oberschnellendorf privately, after which he feigned to continue the war, and suddenly signed the peace of Breslau? Did not his victory at Kesseldorf have as a consequence an equally unforeseen and rapid peace? The schismatic sovereign had played with France, and hypocritically employed her to draw the chesnuts from the fire.

Kaunitz had already spoken in the same sense to the Count de St. Severin, during the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where the French lord represented his country, and the Viennese diplomatist had the honour of terminating the war about the Spanish succession. He held similar language on the banks of the Danube with the chargé d'affaires Blondel, to whom he paid the greatest attention, in order to gain him over to his system. He had him invited, for instance, to the plays in which the arch-

duchess acted before a very limited audience. Highly flattered by this distinction, the envoy did not fail to advise his court of it, adding that the Papal nuncio, and the ambassadors of Great Britain, Holland, and Venice, had alone enjoyed a similar honour. He also announced that the empress, who was then in an interesting situation, would beg Louis XV. to stand as godfather if she brought an archduke into the world.

During his residence in France, Kaunitz had prepared the sovereign and the nation for an arrangement with his fellow-countrymen. In order thoroughly to seduce Madame de Pompadour, he had given at an hotel in Versailles splendid fêtes, which momentarily interrupted his voluptuous solitude. But this was only a fortunate début, and one of the elements of his work. He must now render the Austrian stiffness supple, and attract towards France a hostile court and people. The prince, at the expiration of two years, left Paris, and went to commence the second portion of his task at Vienna.

Above all, it was necessary for him to gain over the empress; and his principal argument consisted in proving to her that an alliance with France would be an infallible method to recover Silesia. The return of that territory under her authority was a fixed idea with Maria Theresa: Among the people and the courtiers, the mere project of this political union seemed a crime of high treason; hence the empress kept it a profound secret with her clear-sighted diplomatist, and neither the ministers his colleagues nor the emperor suspected a manœuvre so cleverly carried out.

Three years of skilful strategy and continued efforts

were required by the Prince of Kaunitz to gain his object, but suddenly his ingenious tactics obtained the desired success: a pantomimic change took place in the Austrian policy. A meeting of the council of state, at which he was present as minister for foreign affairs, ensured his triumph. It was a curious and memorable scene. The council was fully represented; the emperor was present at the deliberations, and the empress took the chair as president. The question to be discussed was whether Austria should remain the ally of Great Britain and Holland, who commanded the seas, or if she should seek other associates in Europe. Pecuniary interests pleaded the cause of the old relations; the two peoples that shared the monopoly of the ocean paid important subsidies to the Habsburgs. This ready money, arriving from foreign parts, facilitated the embezzlement of the great lords, and a maxim, which had become with time as powerful as a law, declared it contrary to the imperial dignity to examine the treasury accounts. The high functionaries pillaged it without any fear of consequences, and the sums supplied by the maritime powers went to augment their clandestine profits. To suppress these revenues would be to impoverish them, and it would be as good as stripping them of their hereditary estates. If Austria renounced them, the public service would absorb the whole of the taxation, and the nobility would lose a portion of their income. They had no inclination to perform such an act of injustice and attack their own resources, and so the whole council declared in favour of England and Holland.

Being the youngest minister, the prince was the last to

give his opinion. He allowed his colleagues to discuss the question without offering the slightest objection, and his unmoved face might have conduced to the belief that he did not take the slightest interest in the debate. Uhlefeld uttered in a nasal tone his confused sentences; Bartenstein, wearied by the prolixity of his discourse, helped him to a word now and then, when he seemed on the point of breaking down; Colloredo and Harrach gave their opinions in a masculine and firm voice: they energetically defended the old alliance, which their strong-box felt an interest in; Khevenhüller gave them the support of his effeminate rhetoric, while the brave Charles Batthyany, military tutor of Joseph II., who had gained several victories over the French and Bavarians, supported the same principles, and cast into the balance the weight of his sword. Kaunitz did not utter a word in reply, or wince in the slightest degree. He mended pens, corrected the slight disorder that might have been produced in his dress, shook off the dust that adhered to his frill and ruffles, or pulled out his repeater and struck it. Maria Theresa affected the same calmness, and no one could have read on their faces the solution of the enigma.

At length the moment arrived when Kaunitz would take the word. Without allowing the slightest emotion to ruffle the serenity of his blue eyes, he entered on the matter with a precision and firmness that foreboded victory. The arguments of his associates disappeared before his inflexible logic like dust carried away by the wind. His clear and precise reasoning was supported on the recent study he had made of the various peoples interested in the debate. Gradually, as he advanced, he strength-

ened his position, and prevented any reply. His colleagues, surprised and disconcerted, maintained silence; but the emperor, who was scandalised by this new project, smote the table, and exclaimed, forgetting his French origin: "What do you say? An alliance with France! It is contrary to nature. . . . Heaven grant it may never take place!" And in the disorder into which the prince's harangue had thrown him, he quitted the apartment.

The empress was seen to change countenance at once; letting her feigned tranquillity fall like a mask, she approved of all the considerations and designs of Kaunitz, and then, as if to prove still more fully the confidence with which his system inspired her, she gave him her hand to kiss, and dissolved the council. The ministers, utterly confounded, quitted the room with furtive glances at each other.

Three weeks later their position was changed: Bartenstein, more especially, went to occupy the post of provincial vice-chancellor in Bohemia, as a species of honourable exile. Kaunitz became chief of the cabinet, minister of the imperial house, chancellor of the court and state, while keeping the portfolio of foreign affairs. He had gained the seat nearest the throne, whence he commanded for more than forty years.

The union between Austria and France was decided as a principle; and the court of Versailles desired nothing better than to conclude it. But it was requisite to come to some understanding about the terms of the treaty, and being desirous that they should be as advantageous as possible for the House of Austria, Kaunitz had sufficient

skill and influence over the empress to make her write an autograph letter to the Marchioness of Pompadour, and he himself drew up the rough copy. She began with the words, "Madam, my dear sister and cousin," to which the mistress of Louis XV. replied, without ceremony, "My dear queen." When the emperor was informed of this correspondence and the terms employed—when he knew that the austere, haughty, prudish, and religious Maria Theresa had carried her condescension so far as to address a butcher's daughter, an unblushing courtesan, as her equal—he fell into a furious fit of passion, in spite of his usual calmness.

Not daring to express to the empress all his indignation, he fell upon the chairs of the room in which they were together, and broke two, while giving way to convulsive shouts of laughter. Maria Theresa, in her amazement, asked him what occasioned this frantic outburst: "Did I not," she exclaimed, "write before this to Farinelli?" The last of the Habsburgs imagined this argument decisive: the marvellous singer, who by his soul-full talent gained the heart of Philip V., and retained his affection till death, through whose good offices she had sought to detach Spain from France, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, seemed to her on a level with the Pompadour, because he was not sprung from noble ancestors! Historians do not tell us what reply Francis made; but the poor emperor was forced to gnaw at the bit, and allow the definitive negotiations to go on, for the empress, in spite of her enthusiastic tenderness, led him like a schoolboy.

Could it be believed, if the papers left by the Duke de

Choiseul did not put it out of all doubt, that the principal motive offered to the King Louis XV. to make him abandon the traditional policy of his ancestors, was a religious consideration? It was shown to him that Frederick was the chief of European Protestantism, and that Protestantism must be abolished. The Prince of Kaunitz employed this clerical argument, about which he cared very little. In vain did the elder son of Maria Theresa, the future Emperor Joseph II., ask her if she could trust the old enemy of the Habsburgs: his mother answered him by a sharp reprimand. On the 5th of May, 1756, Count George Starhemberg, Austrian ambassador to Paris, and the Cardinal de Bernis, prime minister of France, at length signed an offensive and defensive alliance, specially directed against England and Prussia. The two schismatic states, seeing the clouds collecting on the horizon, had taken time by the forelock, and concluded a treaty of the same nature on the 16th of January.

In this transaction the Prince of Kaunitz did not forget the imperial finances. The Red-book, discovered in the Tuileries, and published in 1793, proved that the Austrians received from France 82,652,479 livres, during the twelve years from 1757 to 1769. Art. 3 of the treaty of 1758* stipulated, in addition, that France

* This treaty, signed on the 28th of December, 1758, confirmed the previous one, while granting new advantages to Austria. "Madame de Pompadour," writes one of her bed-chamber women, "brought about the treaty of Vienna, the first idea of which was suggested to her by the Abbé de Bernis. The king often spoke to madame on this subject: she bestowed the greatest praise on the empress and M. le Prince de Kaunitz, whom she had known intimately. She said that he was a 'square head,' a ministerial head." —*Mémoires de Madame du Hausset*, pp. 180, 181.

should pay the Austrians an annual subsidy of 3,336,000 florins, or 333,600*l.* In this way France proposed to overcome the main argument employed by England and Holland to seduce Austria; still, it is not the less to be regretted that France ever has to pay for her alliances, her glory, and her defeats.

By the seventh clause, Louis XV. promised to keep one hundred thousand of his troops in Germany, for the period that the war against the King of Prussia lasted.

The new treaty produced a startling effect on European policy, for no one expected to see two natural enemies join in a fond embrace. The feelings of the French towards the Southern Germans changed at once, and the Parisians said, with charming simplicity, "It seems there are over there, in the *north* (they believed that Austria was a northern country), some persons who are not quite idiots. It is asserted that Kaunitz nearly resembles a Frenchman."

The treaty was signed, and the French ambassador became the most influential man, next to Prince Kaunitz, on the banks of the Danube.

Without wishing it, Frederick II. had himself contributed largely to this alliance between France and Austria, which almost overthrew his tottering throne. The valiant captain did not at all esteem Louis XV., and incessantly ridiculed his limited intellect, his indolence, his religious hypocrisy, and infamous manners; his courtiers and his mistresses equally furnished matter for the sarcastic talents of the bold thinker, and he belaboured the Pompadour with the most Aristophanic licence. His jests had a distant echo: every word of mockery he uttered at Berlin

was known at Versailles. Kaunitz regularly informed the effeminate Bourbon of them, both during his embassy to Paris and during his tenure of office. Frederick treated almost as badly George II., King of England, and Elizabeth, Empress of Russia. There was, therefore, no difficulty in inducing this princess to join the league entered into by France and Austria, and war was resolved on. It lasted seven years, and drove Frederick to the verge of an abyss; but though the coalition was so terrible, it could not silence him, and as three women had combined their efforts to crush him, he pleasantly called this mortal struggle "the war of the three petticoats."

If one portion of the Austrian clergy desired the union with France as a means to overwhelm Prussia, and lay open Northern Germany to Catholic proselytism, another portion feared it, in consequence of the principles then prevalent in France, which they apprehended would invade the territory of the Habsburgs. This latter fraction was the further sighted: orthodoxy gained nothing by the alliance of the two courts, but Austria, from that moment, was more than ever accessible to the liberal doctrines and noble aspirations which were about to regenerate France. The Prince of Kaunitz, whose usual reading was confined to Voltaire and Molière, spread around him his taste for French authors, and secretly prepared the abolition of the Jesuits.

But we are bound to add, that the union of Austria with France was, for the latter country, a pregnant source of evil, humiliation, and useless sacrifices, while her ally gained every sort of moral and material advantage. In 1789, an old diplomatist thus judged the results of the treaties of 1756 and 1758:

"The long enmity which, for three centuries, sundered the houses of Bourbon and Habsburg, was succeeded by an apparently close and intimate union, in which sincerity, frankness, and burdens were on one side—ingratitude, craft, dissimulation, and advantages on the other; a union which was more hurtful to France than any one of the wars that the hatred between the two houses ever enkindled; a union which produced the decadence and degradation of France, the aggrandisement and elevation of Austria; which has raised the latter country to the rank which the other had hitherto held in the order of the European powers; a union, in fine, during which France did not cease to make sacrifices; but these sacrifices, far from arousing the gratitude of Austria and inspiring her with a faithful and sincere attachment, did not even extinguish her old feelings of aversion, jealousy, and rivalry."*

* Situation Politique de la France, et ses Rapports actuels avec toutes les Puissances de l'Europe; a work addressed to the King and the National Assembly by M. de Peysonnel, formerly French Consul-General at Smyrna, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14. Neufchâtel: 1789.

CHAPTER XXI.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN PRINCE KAUNITZ AND THE ORDER OF ST. IGNATIUS.

In addition to the design of uniting France and Austria —France which was his ideal, and Austria where he so ardently desired to introduce the maxims of the French philosophers—a scheme which every one considered impossible, and which he, for all that, carried out—the Prince of Kaunitz wished to overthrow the long domination of the Jesuits in his country, and even provoke the legal abolition of the order.

At the first glance this was a rash design, for the monks of St. Ignatius possessed and governed Austria like a fief of their society. Through education, intrigue, confession and the other sacraments, they swayed the royal family, the diplomatic corps, the nobility, people, and soldiers; they disposed of all places, revenues, and honours, and they knew what occurred in every family. Terror chained every tongue, the censorship paralysed printing and even thought. A Latin document, written in the reign of

Charles VI., when a commencement of regeneration took place," contains a touching complaint on this head, which, though extracted from Tacitus, seems inspired by the griefs of the Austrian peoples:

"We have certainly given a grand proof of patience, and as the ancients saw liberty reach its utmost limits, so we have known the extreme limit of slavery, for the Inquisitors have deprived us even of the right of speaking and hearing. We should have lost our memory with our voice, if we had been able to forget as easily as we remain silent! Our spirit at last returned to us, but, in consequence of human weakness, remedies are slower than the malady. Our bodies are developed slowly, and perish rapidly, and thus the intellect can be paralysed more easily than it can be revived, and studies are abolished with less difficulty than they can be rekindled."

History supplies no second instance of such an empire, obtained and exercised by means of a religious doctrine—not by a caste like the Brahmins, but by a society, a fraction of the sacerdotal body. How could one man annul such great influence, or overthrow so solid an edifice? Imposing fortifications and subterraneous works defended it: there were snares to be avoided and bastions to be carried by assault. But difficulties arouse superior minds as well as generous souls; and Corneille says, very justly, "by conquering without danger, the triumph possesses no glory." The dangers which menaced the skilful minister did not, therefore, terrify him: he only concealed his designs behind the profoundest secrecy, and worked in the dark to ensure their success.

A precautionary measure seemed to him, in the first

place, necessary against the enemies he was about to combat. From this moment he never touched a dish which was not prepared by his own *maître d'hôtel*, and served by a domestic entirely devoted to him. No consideration could send his prudence to sleep even for a single day. If a great personage, the emperor or empress, invited him to dinner, he accepted the invitation, but abstained from all food placed on the table. His faithful servant brought him his meal, including bread, wine, and water, and his excessive sobriety facilitated the operation. The frightful death of Pope Clement XIV. proved how right the wise minister was in keeping on his guard.

A fortunate accident brought into his hands papers of the highest importance. No order had provoked such dissatisfaction and so many defections as that of St. Ignatius, or seen more runagates abandon it, and with it the Catholic Church, in order to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation. One of the Jesuits, worn out by the crushing yoke, worked in the secret chancellerie of the society at Vienna, where he kept the correspondence of the provincial. He was an ingenious man, who knew and managed business matters excellently, but he had already solicited several times the revocation of his vows, and expressed a desire to figure among the members of the secular clergy. This evidence of disgust and weariness had not been punished, as would have been the case at other times, but his demand was continually denied. He had no hope of gaining his ends, until, one day, he discovered in the panelling of the house a hidden chest, which appeared to have been forgotten. On opening it, he found a number of mysterious papers, letters in cipher,

accounts, and other documents. The postulant, whose name was Joseph Monsperger, noticed, to his extreme surprise, the general confessions of several sovereigns, ministers, princesses, and great personages, which had been written during the close of Charles VI.'s reign and the first ten years of Maria Theresa's reign. Some were written in the hand of the confessors themselves, while others were only copies, the originals having been sent to Rome. Provided with these precious documents, the Jesuit imagined he would at length gain his liberty.

One of his schoolfellows, Tobias Harrer, was private secretary to the Prince of Kaunitz. Monsperger went to him, obtained a private audience of the clear-sighted minister, and informed him of his discovery. The statesman read with great attention the documents laid before him, kept them, as we may easily imagine, and held them in reserve, to be employed when the hour arrived. The Jesuit was then enabled to quit Vienna, go to the Pope, and demand the annulment of his oaths; but, had not the chief of the Austrian cabinet protected him, in all probability the seditious man would have disappeared for ever in the dungeons of the castle of St. Angelo. With this protection to support him, he threatened Clement XIII. that he would divulge the secrets of the order unless his chains were broken. The Roman pontiff found himself obliged to yield, and Monsperger came back to Vienna, where he lived in the suburbs, and died at a great age, during the reign of Joseph II., after passing the second half of his existence in pleasant rusticity.

The liberator of Austria felt that he required supporters in carrying out his perilous work successfully, for the

monks of Loyola embraced all Europe in their intrigues, were everywhere present, armed with dissimulation, violence, cupidity, and inexorable ambition. To destroy one of their strong places was not sufficient; all their citadels must be blown up simultaneously, and then, perhaps, they would not recover from their downfal. Prince Kaunitz hoped so, at least, although the order, after receiving a death-blow, and being buried for forty years, has again emerged from the tomb on the invocation of that reactionary spirit which infests our age.

The skilful minister, consequently, worked upon the ambassadors of the foreign powers at the court of Vienna. Pombal, Aranda, and Choiseul, who expelled the Jesuits from Portugal, Spain, and France, had all three represented their nation at Vienna, and yielded to the influence of the great politician. The mysterious order had at length found an antagonist capable of conquering it; skilful, calm, silent, persevering, indefatigable, without illusion, prejudices, or weakness, and he attacked it in the centre of its authority, for he wished to strike it to the heart, and tear from it its finest prey, that unhappy Austria, which it had reduced to slavery for one hundred and fifty years, separated from civilisation and Germany, enveloped in darkness, and inundated with blood and tears.

CHAPTER XXII.

INTRIGUES EMPLOYED BY THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VIENNA—CRAFT AND PERSECUTION—THIRTY THOUSAND PROTESTANTS EXPELLED FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF SALZBURG.

THE absolute authority wielded in Austria, during one hundred and fifty years, by the monks of St. Ignatius, and of which Kaunitz stripped them, although they have fully regained it in our day, is a strange phenomenon, probably unique in history, and which, therefore, demands close examination. We have seen the terrible means the pious conspirators employed to establish their rule; a portion of these expedients served them for its maintenance, and persecution ever threatened their enemies. Still, as the Jesuits held no official position in the state, did not wear the crown, could not order the ministers, command troops, fill up the ambassadorial posts, or even govern the dioceses—as their rules keep them out of all ecclesiastical or secular dignities—they only ruled by force of skill, and by means of perpetual artifices. This complicated and laborious machine must work without

relaxation, under penalty of being rust-eaten, or thrown out of gear by negligence. What system of craft did the reverend fathers employ? It may be easily supposed that they did not, themselves, leave us any information on this subject; and the utter servitude of the press in Austria allowed nothing to be published whence we could now obtain a little light. But one source of information is left to us: the despatches of ambassadors to their respective courts, and the narratives of travellers. These reveal to us certain tricks, which enable us to guess the others.

Thus, we learn from Freschot* that the Jesuits affected before the emperor the most Christian disinterestedness and humility, and appeared indifferent to everything connected with this world, to power as to riches. But this feigned abnegation did not prevent them exercising an unbounded influence. If any one displeased them, or stood in opposition to them, he was utterly ruined. Any services he might have rendered the state, whatever his position or personal merit might be, he was dismissed, proscribed, or destroyed, not by violent measures, or a regular and open persecution, but by means so skilful that the victims seemed to fall through their own fault. The overthrow was visible, but no one could prove whence the blow came. As the society neither appeared to know the individual, or bestow a thought upon him, it enjoyed mysteriously the pleasure of its vengeance.

The Spanish monks, then, held the court as in a state of siege; nothing entered or came out of it without

* Mémoires de la Cour de Vienne. Cologne: 1706. One vol. 18mo.

having undergone their control. The ministers, officials, and subalterns must bend the knee before them, receive their instructions, and obey them. For their adversaries justice became as inaccessible as favour; it was their voice that spoke from the tribunals, their hand that opened and closed the prisons.

Beyond the country, at foreign courts, their influence was not diminished, for the ambassadors bore the yoke of their authority, and could not escape their commands or surveillance. Several members of the order incessantly prowled around them, under the pretext of paying their court, doing them a service, or imparting valuable information, which was often puerile. These cautious, tyrannical relations also served to set the emissaries in relief: the least mark of weariness or disquietude was noted; there was no hope of escaping their menacing and importunate obsequiousness, and the slightest sign of rebellion produced the gravest consequences. At a signal given from Paris, London, Rome, Madrid, or Lisbon, the manœuvres were commenced at Vienna; the recalcitrant ambassador was blackened and calumniated; insinuations and perfidious stratagems went on at full speed; and even before the diplomatist could have foreseen the tempest, he was recalled from his duties.

Two hundred and fifty Jesuits, permanently stationed at Vienna, occupied every avenue leading to the palace, while two members of the society learned, in confession, the most secret thoughts of the emperor and empress. The former was placed in the hands of a grave and studious man, who seemed absorbed in contemplation, solely engaged with his salvation and the interests of

Heaven—for Heaven has its *interests*, according to the theologians. Hence, the holy personage repeatedly asked to be allowed to resign his functions, and exchange them for the peace of solitude and the ecstatic beatitude of a contemplative life. Of course he was not allowed to do so, and he was implored not to deprive the monarch of the light of his counsels; so, after many a trick, he yielded, resigned himself with a sigh, and this pious interlude, played without compunction, strengthened his credit. If his colleagues could be believed, he only conversed with the sovereign on dogmas and morality; yet, after a decision was formed in the evening at the ministerial council, great was the surprise on hearing the next morning that the emperor had changed his opinion. Not a word was breathed, for the influence of theology over politics was understood; but the secretaries of state were so utterly disgusted at the wretched part they played, that they did not trouble themselves to offer any opinion.

In order to guide the empress, a brother of an opposite nature was employed. With women, even devotion must be insinuating; austerity of countenance and of manners, which nature has not intended to be offered them as a spectacle, causes them an invincible repugnance. In consequence, a young, gay, active, and eloquent priest was placed near the sovereign, and what his reverend brother could not obtain from the emperor, the amiable priest got from the empress. The company is very fond of employing the influence of women, who are naturally predisposed to mystery, and, besides, what a field was opened to them by the excessive piety of the princesses!

Eleanor of Neuburg, third wife of Leopold I., carried her devotion so far that she flagellated herself till the blood came, wore bracelets with iron points inside, and followed processions barefooted. As the emperor was passionately fond of music, she accompanied him to his box, through etiquette and duty; but she carefully turned her attention from the stage, and kept her ears closed to all worldly sounds. A book of psalms, bound like the opera libretto, aided her exaltation, and she seemed to be reading the piece while engaged in prayer. With reading she united needlework and religiously embroidered altar-cloths.

On certain occasions, and to give themselves the appearance of complete sincerity, the monks of St. Ignatius supported diverse opinions, and divided into two bands, one saying Yes, the other No. This game, arranged beforehand, produced a striking effect on simple-minded persons. The experienced clerks found in it another advantage: whatever decision the emperor might form, whatever was the issue of the affair, the company always expressed the same opinion as the monarch, and always foresaw the final result. The two confessors played the chief part in this ecclesiastical comedy, and a curious instance of it was seen when the King of Spain made a will, calling to the throne of the Peninsula the Archduke Charles, second son of Leopold, and afterwards the Emperor Charles VI. The father and mother of the young man hesitated about parting with him: hence, it would have been awkward to wound their restless tenderness, or to take a decisive part: ambition might gain the victory over affection, and *vice versâ*. The Jesuits separated into

two choruses, one singing the affirmative, the other the negative, and in this way they were sure not to sing false.

Marriages also became an excellent mode of action: few splendid weddings took place without their intervention, and sparkling eyes, pretty faces, and attractive dowers brought all the young men to their feet.

For the purpose of maintaining their influence over the lower classes, the Jesuits formed a secret society of poor scholars, whom they supplied with a pittance and gave instructions. Their hungry emissaries spread over the cafés, beer-shops, dancing-gardens, and other places of resort, where they listened to the remarks of the drinkers, and reported them to the learned casuists. Among these spies were four hundred men of herculean strength, who, if necessary, supported the reputation of the order by peremptory arguments. If a tumult had broken out in the city against the omnipotent monks, they would have had this athletic band as a guard, and thus, we see, they forgot nothing.

As the creation of such a society indicates, the spirit of intolerance and persecution ever animated the ambitious order, and it was always ready to employ violence for the purpose of terrifying its enemies and the adversaries of Catholicism, and ensuring the execution of its projects. In the reign of Charles VI., during the year 1731 (note the date, I beg you), the congregation furnished a striking proof of this, which threw the whole of Europe into a state of stupor. Odious scenes recalled, at a period so near ourselves, both the Thirty Years' War and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

No Austrian province offers so glorious a prospect to visitors as that of Salzburg. Strangers as well as Germans are never weary of praising this enchanted region. The lakes and mountains, prairies and forests, the rocks and cascades, the torrents, the snow-clad peaks, and the eternal ice, form an admirable picture—one of the most successful poems Nature ever wrote. Villages and picturesque towns enliven this smiling solitude. To a pastoral and agricultural life, to shooting and fishing, the inhabitants add the working of mines, especially of iron mines, which abound throughout the province. This poetic diocese had the good fortune to escape the calamities of the Thirty Years' War.

It was preserved from them by the wisdom and enlightened policy of the Archbishop Pâris Lodron, primate of Germany, and temporal lord of the country. From the beginning of the troubles he contrived to appease, without violence, all agitation in the districts where the new maxims counted the largest number of followers, and he prevented them from joining the Dissenters of Bohemia, or the revolted peasants commanded by Stephen Fadinger. He did not himself join the Catholic league, and never admitted the Jesuits into his diocese, which formed an oasis in the centre of bleeding Germany. Although supported by powerful native families, the Lutherans were in a great numerical inferiority there, which counselled them prudence, and averted from them the wrath of the Habsburgs. So long as the armed persecution lasted, the judicious prelate was, as it were, the guardian angel of his vassals, and, by a truly singular chance, he occupied the archiepiscopal see for more than thirty

years, thus seeing the beginning and end of the horrible war.

While exhausted Germany was returning slowly and painfully to a state of convalescence, the calmness grew more profound, and prosperity was augmented amid the mountains of Salzburg; the distant pealing of the cannon did not trouble the silence of these fragrant forests. This salutary peace lasted twenty-five years, but the struggle between the past and the future, routine and intelligence, despotism and liberty, was not yet terminated. The shepherds on the mountain meadows, the wood-cutters, labourers, miners, and charcoal-burners, conversed among themselves as to the problems that had recently agitated Europe. These simple and pure men asked each other why so great a schism had transformed Christians into wild beasts; why they had seen several popes and anti-popes cursing and reviling each other in turn; why the chiefs of the Church had such discussions and employed so many arguments at the councils of Constance and Basel; and why, lastly, the teachers of the new doctrines—Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—did not agree among themselves? The prohibition against reading the Bible, where they would gladly have sought light, heightened their curiosity, while at the same time inspiring them with suspicions. From the year 1670 numerous reports were sent in to the Austrian government, revealing this state of mind among the people.

The works of a native Reformer heightened their desire for the right of free inquiry. Joseph Schaitberger was born at Durnberg in 1658; having read Luther's catechism, he found it so satisfactory, that from that

moment he combated without rest or variations the principles of Catholicism. He was, of course, arrested, but even in the dungeons of Hallein and Salzburg he remained inflexible, and was, consequently, expelled from the country. The courageous apostle chose Nüremberg as his place of refuge, a powerful and enlightened city, which was at that time the intellectual centre of Germany. He published there a variety of religious tracts, the size of which rendered them accessible to everybody. His "Evangelical Letter," addressed to the Tyrolese of the Valley of Defferegen, celebrated for their skill in manufacturing carpets, had a prodigious success. Their hawkers introduced it into the mountains of Salzburg, whence it penetrated into Carinthia and Upper Styria by the connivance of discreet persons, who could not possibly be suspected. Charlatans, pedlars, and even the sellers of pious images, rosaries, and blessed crosses, also propagated the pamphlets of the popular writer, adding to them translations of the Bible, which were eagerly read by the woodmen, farmers, charcoal-burners, and miners.

The number of persons who had an inclination for the Reformation was considerable during the administration of the Prince Bishop Gandolf of Küenburg between 1668 and 1688, and it increased largely during the reign of his successor, Count Francis of Harrach. As the mountaineers sincerely sought the truth, and knew better how to pursue the chamois than to analyse a doctrine, they might probably have been led back by kindness. But the House of Austria only puts faith in the sabre and bolts; the order of St. Ignatius only wished to employ force. Hence a persecution of the Dissenters was com

menced; the slightest deviation from the external ceremonies of Catholicism was punished with pitiless rigour. A suspicion dragged a man before religious commissions, and made him undergo a perfidious and inquisitorial examination; the house of a prisoner was searched to find dangerous books, and he was forced publicly to renounce all sects. If he refused to give this startling disavowal, he was expelled from the territory, or sent to languish in eternal exile; and as if to add irony to intolerance, he was compelled to pay an *emigration tax*. In May, 1695, Michael Plastnigg, a peasant of Windischmattray, was thus compelled to quit his native country, and his wife wished to follow him abroad, and take with her her four young children. But she was separated from her sons under the pretext that their father's damnable opinions might compromise their salvation. The exile's brother could not even obtain permission to bring them up, although his orthodoxy was beyond suspicion, and he swore to live and die in the Ultramontane creed. His nephews were handed over to strangers, who took charge of their education. A multitude of similar scenes afflicted the Oberland.

These oppressive measures were not of a nature to excite any enthusiasm on behalf of Catholicism. The rude dweller on the mountains does not understand submission to tyranny: he sees his rocks brave the fury of the tempests, his snow-clad peaks defy the sun, his torrents leap over every obstacle—Nature herself teaches him resistance. Hence he no more bows beneath tyranny than his rocks give way beneath the gentle pressure of the snow. The shepherds in the highlands, however, had

not yet adopted any precise theory, and they belonged neither to the communion of Augsburg nor to the Helvetic confession. Some books and principles of all the Reformed sects circulated among them: they had borrowed certain opinions from the Vaudois, Hussites, Lutherans, and Calvinists, and had formed of them a strange medley.

Still they had one common basis—the maxims of the Gospel—and one common object, that of leading back the hearts to the purity of the primitive ages. Now, the manners of the Austrian clergy offered an entirely opposite spectacle. They seemed to have reduced piety to a servile observance of some minute practices and a few external ceremonies: justice and charity counted as nothing in their devotion. "Their ignorance raised a smile, their corruption excited contempt, their fanatic violence inspired hatred," Baron Hormayr tells us; "their avidity terrified, and their continual debauchery recalled a sentence in the Bible about those shepherds who shear their flocks to the skin." The enmity between the priests and their parishioners in Salzburg, therefore, grew every day more envenomed, but, instead of correcting their vices, the priests let loose persecution in these tranquil valleys.

The most honourable citizens were treated like criminals, and threatened with the gallows. "I am a poor man," Peter Wallner said, "but there is not a moment that I am not ready to die for the truth." The oppression at length became so cruel that the mountaineers lost patience. On the 5th of August, 1731, their delegates met at Schwarzach to deliberate on the means to put a stop to it. Collected round a table in the village hostelry, they began by singing the twenty-sixth Psalm; then they discussed and de-

cided on the measures they would take. Some desired to provoke a general sedition, and a military occupation of the defiles, but more moderate opinions prevailed. The countrymen gained little by this step, for, on being informed of it, the archbishop requested the intervention of Charles VI., as Austrian prince, and defender and patron of the diocese. The emperor immediately sent him three thousand six hundred men, who were spread through all the valleys, and during the space of four months they cost the province 1,039,440 florins. On the 30th of August, 1731, the Aulic Council prohibited as seditious any meetings at which more than three persons were present, and a great number of fathers of families were arrested or sent into exile.

In this public calamity twenty-three peasants of the ten cantons decided on proceeding to Ratisbon, and laying their situation before the envoys of the schismatic powers. They saw clearly that they must soon decide for one or the other of the two great confessions, but knew not which to choose. The simple peasants laid before the synod a list of all the Salzburgers who regarded the Gospels as the sole source of truth, and it contained the names of seventeen thousand seven hundred and fourteen adherents. As, however, these were only the heads of families, they represented a much larger number of persons wearied of the Catholic yoke. This step was replied to by a violent measure, which outraged the opinion and morals of the eighteenth century.

On the 31st of October of the same year, the Austrian government published a decree by which all the Dissenters were condemned to exile. Persons established

must leave the territory within five months, those not established, in eight days, unless they renounced the Protestant Church; all journeymen, wood-cutters, and miners who did not abjure the heretical doctrines would be expelled at once. A multitude of mountaineers sold their lands and furniture at a heavy sacrifice, produced by the quantity in the market. The fathers of families set out first, and sought a place of refuge, to which they summoned their wives and children. The desolation was almost universal.

The ambassadors of the Protestant states appealed against this measure by virtue of the treaty of Westphalia. The fourth article of the thirty-ninth paragraph, which was never carried out in Bavarian Austria, states that the Reformers will be allowed three years to quit a Catholic country if the sovereign requires it, and, in any case, they can leave their estates to be managed for them. According to its usual custom, the court of Vienna remained deaf and dumb, and the only thing left was to hold out a helping hand to the fugitives.

The Elector of Hanover received them eagerly. The King of Denmark ordered collections on their behalf in all the churches. On the 2nd of February, 1732, the King of Prussia published letters patent, in which he offered them an asylum; and the court of Berlin even engaged the Catholics to exert all their influence to secure the exiles a kind reception. A large number, consequently, established themselves in this hospitable country. Frederick William also sent two commissioners to Salzburg, officially ordered to collect all moneys owing to the exiles; but, in return for this, the archbishop ordered

the payment of the debts they owed to be enforced. He kept back a sum representing the annual donations extorted from them for the profit of the pious establishments, the parochial worship, and houses of charity. When the number of burdens on any estate compelled its sale by auction, the tax-collectors received a right of pre-emption.

All Reformed Germany followed the example furnished by the sovereigns. Although the free cities were no longer in that powerful and flourishing condition to which the commerce of the East had once raised them, they behaved most generously towards the immigrants: several found employment there, and many were assisted by philanthropical institutions. In many parishes the authorities went to meet the exiles, while the bells rang a peal; the burgomaster held a speech to them, and the inhabitants, collected in crowds outside the walls, sang the famous Lutheran canticles: "A tower of strength is our Lord. No one is abandoned by the Saviour. Help us, Master, according to Thy promise." Foreign princes could not have had a more solemn reception. At Ansbach, when the travellers reached the Town-hall square, four hundred and thirty catechisms of the Augsburg confession were distributed among them, and George Förster, an old man of eighty-seven years, thanked the town in the name of the exiles. The citizens then contended for the honour and satisfaction of lodging them. A collection in the churches produced the relatively large amount of 3974 fl. 6 xr.

Bavaria, the humble vassal of Austria, did not display the same interest in the banished men. She only granted

them a week to traverse her territory; the road they were to follow was pointed out to them, and it was guarded all through by soldiers. Five hundred mountaineers selected this route of the thirty thousand who had abandoned their country. A certain number embarked for America, where they founded a Protestant colony on the banks of the Ebenezer, in Georgia.

The vast trade in toys, of which Nüremberg is now the centre, was transferred there at this period, for they had hitherto been manufactured on the banks of the Königsee, in the province of Salzburg. The majority of the workmen quitted their country, and went, under a less inhospitable sky, to establish a rivalry with the wood-cutters who remained in the mountains.

This emigration entailed on the diocese consequences almost as fatal as the expulsion of the Moors was to Spain. The gold, silver, iron, and copper mines were abandoned; the rain, ice, and eternal snow invaded the galleries. The soil soon became a desert; fields, hitherto cultivated, became sterile moors, and the lowlands were converted into pestilential marshes that exhaled fever. Instead of robust cultivators, bronzed by the pure air of the mountains, a pale and trembling shepherd might here and there be seen. The deserted houses fell into ruin, and those who had bought the estates of their unhappy compatriots at shamefully low prices, and tried to work them, were obliged to hire labourers and make considerable advances. Their enterprise failed, and the people saw in their bankruptcy a providential chastisement.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FINAL ATTEMPTS OF THE JESUITS TO CONVERT GERMANY—DECAY OF THE ORDER.

THE Jesuits had not given up their project of subjugating all Germany to Catholicism. The Thirty Years' War had only given them half, and they coveted the rest of their prey, the fragments that had been torn from their grasp. They could not and dared not proceed openly by force, for they had no longer a Wallenstein to carry desolation, ruin, and death from Lombardy to the Baltic. But wherever circumstances did not allow them to unlimber their guns, they crept in. To convert schismatic sovereigns, and excite against their peoples persecutions more or less cruel, became their principal expedient. The last time they employed violence it was not directly by the sword of Austria, but through the aid of Louis XIV., for that haughty monarch had become their instrument and vassal. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes signalised the importation into France of the Austrian system, and four years after, the dragonnades, that mode of persuasion

to which the Jesuits hold so tightly, because they invented it, bore faith and terror to the banks of the Rhine.

"In the month of February, 1689," Voltaire writes, "an order from Louis, signed Louvois, reached the army to reduce everything to ashes. The French generals, who were forced to obey, advised, during the winter, the citizens of all these flourishing towns, the inhabitants of the villages, and the masters of more than fifty castles, that they must quit their abodes, which were going to be destroyed with the sword and fire. Men, women, and children quitted them in all haste. One portion wandered about the country, another sought refuge in neighbouring countries, while the soldier, who ever exceeds severe orders and never executes those of clemency, burnt and plundered their country. They began with Mannheim and Heidelberg, the abode of the electors: their palaces were destroyed, as well as the houses of the citizens; their tombs were torn open by the rapacious soldiers, who fancied they would find treasures in them, and their ashes were dispersed."

Over the ruins of one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two parishes formerly Lutheran, Catholicism was proclaimed. The few inhabitants who had escaped the fury of the French troops, famine, and the rigours of winter, were forced to pray according to the ritual whose superiority had been so triumphantly proved to them. This oppression lasted eight years, and when peace was at length discussed at Ryswick, the Palatinate believed that liberty of conscience would be restored to it. The deliberations of the plenipotentiaries were drawing to an end, and the hopes of the unhappy people seemed

really on the point of realisation, but the Jesuits of France, leagued with those of Vienna, were preparing a cowardly blow. On the eve of the day when the act was to be definitively signed, the three representatives of France declared that the negotiations would be broken off if the communes indoctrinated by the sword and fire were allowed to revert to Protestantism. The envoys of the Lutheran states loudly protested against this new demand; but no attention was paid to their reclamations. All the belligerents were weary of the war, and thousands of men were sacrificed whom the King of France had enlightened by firing their houses.

The German Protestants suspected Austria of having plotted this perfidy, and were very angry with her. They were so little mistaken that Leopold regretted he had not obtained more. Count Auersperg, his envoy at London, said to Blaithwaite, the secretary of state, that this convention, after all, had not restored to the Catholics one-half so many parishes as they had given up to the Lutherans by the peace of Munster. The converted branch of the Neuburg family, which inherited the Palatinate in 1685, approved of Louis XIV.'s obstinacy, for it, too, preferred a desert to a country peopled by schismatics.

From this period the troops of the Holy See had no occasion to employ the warlike measures they are so fond of; but they did not relax in their efforts, and threw their net over the whole of Germany. In the same year that the treaty of Ryswick was signed, the Elector of Saxony, in order to mount the throne of Poland, renounced Protestantism, which had been so courageously defended by

his ancestors. The princes of Hanover and the reigning family of Brunswick prostrated themselves before the orthodox Church. Death alone was able to check the progress of Papacy in the north; and the succession to Hanover falling into the hands of the English was a grave blow to the Ultramontanes; but the princes of Hohenlohe imposed the Roman communion on their subjects. In 1731, as we have seen, took place the awful scenes in Salzburg. In 1733 an adept of the congregation inherited Würtemberg, and formed the design of restoring the supremacy of the old faith, and Count Schönborn, bishop of Wurtzburg and vice-chancellor of the empire, promised to second Charles Alexander's efforts. The sudden death which surprised the fanatic duke in 1737 did not allow him to carry out his designs; but, as his son held the same religious opinions, the Holy See continued to govern Würtemberg for sixty-four years. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, who was also gained over, but feared the indignation of his father, embraced the Catholic doctrines with the most profound secrecy in 1749. Had it not been for the victorious resistance of Frederick during the Seven Years' War, his perspicuous genius and sustained efforts, the Jesuits would have probably accomplished by intrigue in the eighteenth century the work for which they had displayed such fearful energy in the previous age.

Another obstacle, however, might have arrested them—I mean their own decadence. The order of Loyola is a war instrument, a double-edged sword; it produces terrible effects in the contest, but when hostilities are at an end, of what use is it? In peaceful times, the blacksmith's

hammer, the labourer's pick, the weaver's shuttle, the housewife's needle, possess a real and incontestable utility, but the sanguinary blade can only rust as it hangs on the wall, and the very sight of it causes a shudder, for it evokes such odious reminiscences.

Such was the fate of the congregation in Austria, and such must be its destiny always and everywhere. Rest, so precious for nations, ruins and disconcerts the warlike order. The arts of peace find it unskilful and awkward, and its fundamental stratagem then consists in paralysing the human understanding, and preventing reflection and discussion. The lethargic atmosphere the Jesuits spread around them ends by stupifying themselves. The Jesuits are considered excellent instructors, and Frederick II. asserted that, if he expelled them, his Catholic provinces would suffer greatly as regarded education. I am inclined to believe this was but a vain pretext;* and the talent of the Jesuits as professors seems to me one of those prejudices which neither the examination of reason nor the light of facts will support. How could the partisans of absolute immobility teach mental gymnastics? Can the despisers and adversaries of reason form healthy and robust intellects? In our days, establishments exist in which deformities of shape are corrected. The Jesuit schools seem, on the contrary, to deform minds and render them dis-

* In advancing this paradox, the King of Prussia, as M. de St. Priest has very well explained, wished to wound the French philosophers, and punish them for their new democratic theories. As long as religion had been the sole object of their attacks he sympathised with them; but when they began attacking absolute power, he grew very angry, and quitted their ranks.

torted and rachitic. The annals of Austria peremptorily prove this. As soon as the ambitious monks governed uncontrolled the people and the emperor, the generals and ministers, women and children, an eclipse of the national intelligence set in; even worse, their own vision was obscured, and the light they hid from others was withdrawn from themselves.

The order of Loyola obstinately cultivated the memory, while repressing reason and that spirit of research and initiative, which are the sources of all clearness, the instruments of all progress. Their principal object was to muddle the brain, plunge the human race into a blind obedience, as into a gaol, either as regarded religious doctrines, political maxims, or even acquirements, contrary to the principle of authority. Their system of education, the only one they ever followed, tended to create mediocre men, and surround superior talents with an impassable barrier. Never was instruction more dry, monotonous, and sepulchral: their science had the regularity of a family vault, where each niche receives a coffin; inert instruction filled every compartment of their studies. They developed exclusively the inferior resources and faculties of man; for ideas and facts their enervating method substituted words and the study of languages. And what studies! in their colleges Livy was replaced by Jovius and Natalis; Sallust by Sadoletus and Bembo; Cicero by Osorius; Virgil, Horace, and Terence, by Vida, Prudentius, and Sannazarius, the former being too pagan, the latter more orthodox. The pupils were taught Greek and Latin without criticism, without penetrating beyond

mere words to explain things, without giving any notion of the spirit that animated the ancients, and which imparted to them taste, perspicuity, bravery, and grandeur.

The theology and pretended philosophy taught by the reverend fathers completed the overthrow of intelligence. It wandered along these lanes of dry words, or fell exhausted beneath the weight of routine maxims combined in favour of clerical despotism and political oppression. When the professors themselves lost the thread of their discourse, they escaped from the dilemma by declaring that many things cannot be understood because they are incomprehensible. Physics were reduced to a few experiments with the pneumatic and electric machines—two great rarities at that period in Bavaria and Austria—and they were thus changed into an amusement. Geology and natural history did not even appear in the lists; only the dead letter of law was taught, and when a young noble had wasted two or three years in studying in this way, he received a diploma, and imagined he knew everything mortal could know.

Everywhere the order of Loyola waged an open war against nationalities, despising and sapping old customs and privileges, and local guarantees, and striving to suppress modern languages in order to substitute for them a barbarous Latin. Thus in Austria, German, Bohemian, and Hungarian were exposed to their sincere or affected contempt: the language of the Church must dominate over the forms of expression, as the authority of the Vatican did over lay authorities. The same proscription fell on national literature, whose roots are plunged into the soil of the country, whose songs evoke a multi-

tude of recollections, recal glorious exploits, and protect popular traditions and rights from oblivion. The Jesuits put in their place their mutilated classics, their lying histories, which travestie facts, suppress nations to exalt reigning families, mention with disdainful laconism princes freed from their control, but emphatically puff the sovereigns who knelt before their congregation. If a king or powerful man has acted as their vassal, asked and followed their advice, favoured their plans, or humbly borne their banner, he was a saint, a genius, a model of goodness, virtue, and reason. In this way the falsifiers of annals paraded the empty William of Bavaria, the narrow-minded and cruel Ferdinand II., and the grotesque and thick-skulled Leopold I., to whom they gave the title of Great!

A Bavarian ecclesiastic, Laurence Westenrieder, has preserved for us in their official formula the maxims that governed the education given by the Jesuits. It is a marvellous receipt for cramping the mind: "Our followers must never adopt new opinions, but conform to the judgments of the society, and all say the same thing—men inclined to innovations will be banished from the desks—all must follow the same data in their instruction, and reject profane books, and those written in an easy style (procul habeant libros profanos et politioris sermonis)—morality and mathematics must only be taught so far as our object demands—lastly, philosophy must be so interpreted as to agree with the scholastic theology."

A final sentence openly reveals their colossal ambition: "It would be a great good fortune for the people, if, after having destroyed the pernicious race of politicians, the

temporal power were so united with the spiritual, that all should be governed and administered by us." *

The consequences of this intellectual paralysis and factitious supineness were soon displayed. Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, and Bavaria, so active and flourishing in the sixteenth century, when superior talents abounded, fell into a state of spiritual indigence and want of learned men which terrifies the historian. Before the invasion of the Jesuits, a gentle dawn spread a gradually increasing light over those countries, but no day followed that dawn; the Spanish priests brought back the gloom, illusion, and terrors of night.

The rapid degeneration of intelligence was speedily perceptible. There was soon a want of proper persons to fill the government offices, govern the provinces, and represent the country at foreign courts. The noble families that reserved to themselves the highest offices, seeing their sons leave the Jesuit colleges ignorant and incapable, decided on sending them to study abroad. And where was it that the Catholic youths went to seek that instruction which the reverend fathers could not impart to them? At the Lutheran universities of Leipzig, Wittemberg, Helmstädt, and Halle, or the Calvinist universities of Utrecht and Leyden. The illustrious professors of the congregation had reduced a great nation to this condition! After shedding rivers of blood to destroy schism, they were compelled to allow the younger generation to desert their schools and take lessons from the teachers of

* Maximum in populi utilitatem cessurum esset, si, pestifero semini politicorum sublato et temporali dominio cum spirituali conjuncto, solummodò à nobis res regerentur et administrarentur.

heresy. There, however, they were enlightened more than the brothers of St. Ignatius liked: they started with a triple bandage over their eyes, but came back without prejudices, and accustomed to employ their reasoning faculties. In this way were formed: Count John William of Wurmbrand Stuppach, who became president of the Aulic Council, secretary of state, and knight of the Golden Fleece; Count of Harrach, ambassador to Madrid, at the moment when the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs was about to expire; the Governor Jörger and his son; Tattenbach, Stubenberg, Trautmansdorf, and the three Kaunitzes; the grandfather of the chancellor, one of the liberators of Vienna besieged by the Turks, and signer of the treaty of Ryswick; his son, ambassador to the court of Rome and all the electoral courts; and lastly, the prince who governed Austria under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. If the ambitious community had desired to overthrow itself, it would not have acted otherwise.

The Empress Maria Theresa herself received the most pitiable education from the Jesuits: she never learned orthography, nor, consequently, grammar, and she derived her historical knowledge from those scanty abridgments the Jesuits are so fond of. All the development of her mind she owed to herself, to her rich nature, her political experience, and her business transactions. Her preceptors had neither inspired her with that taste for the fine arts which she displayed during her reign, nor with that esteem for historic works of which she made such skilful use in supporting her claims to various territories, and in fortifying her power at home; but the Benedictines drew up her manifestoes.

The German language remained uncultivated, like an abandoned field; it was hardly used even in law cases. Harlequin, Pierrot, and Punchinello, occupied all the theatres, where they uttered the most stupid and coarse jests. The fashionable world passed from pedantry to frivolity, and their conversation, dull and conventional, inspired the most profound weariness of spirit. The art of writing was in the last agony, not to say more, and yet the Jesuits prohibited all books published in Northern Germany.

Religion was practised and interpreted in a weak and puerile manner. The processions which took place throughout the whole of Austria on Good Friday, and the Friday in the previous week, will furnish an idea of this barbarous worship. The immense procession stopped before stages, on which certain episodes of the Old and New Testament were represented with a realism not at all suited to edify chaste minds. Magdalen might be seen represented by a girl very scantily clad, who grovelled at the foot of a cross. Ruth and Boaz, Judah and Thamar, David and Bathsheba, Susannah and the Elders—no detail of these improper interludes was omitted. The authorities did not dare prohibit them, because the Jesuits regarded them as necessary for the pomp of these festivals, and a means to attract the multitude. The more improper a spectacle was, the more it charmed the populace; the young of both sexes crowded up, and at times made rude jests on these biblical personages. In the Holy Week of 1674, the students indulged in such intemperate language, and so mobbed the actors, that the civic guard was required to disperse them, but the uni-

versity blades would not obey their injunctions. Their resistance provoked a contest, which terminated the burlesque solemnity by a tragic event.

The instructions for the choice of the persons who were to appear on the stages and act there, will show how the monks of Loyola degraded religion, and what frivolous cares occupied their attention. We translate literally:

"To represent God the Father, a tall, upright, vigorous, and well-proportioned man is required, with a tolerably thick grey beard, without any yellow or red marks or gaps, and forming a regular mass round his face—a person, in short, resembling the late Dr. Sextus or the host of the Stork. With reference to Christ, the arranger of the procession must seek, at least a fortnight beforehand, in the churches and streets, an individual of the proper height, not too stout, with a complexion revealing health, not squinting, with a well-proportioned nose, having all his teeth and an agreeable countenance; not wearing a long grey beard, but, on the contrary, having a little chesnut beard or a lighter colour, terminating in two points—in short, presenting no deformity; of good manners in addition, and God fearing. The high priests Melchisedek, Aaron, Annas, Caiphas, &c., must either have long and thick grey beards, or short crisp beards, or two tufts on the chin; their faces will be smeared with grease, their bodies large in proportion, and if they do not possess the requisite obesity, cushions must be used to swell them out. The two brothers who keep the forge must be sent for from Mittewald, for their colossal size renders them well suited to represent the giants Goliath

and Uriah: in addition to the regular pay, they will receive twelve florins as a gratification. The devil vomiting fire will receive half a florin and all the materials he requires, such as sulphur, brandy, and cotton. To represent St. George, the handsomest and strongest man in the city will be chosen, because he has to save Margaret, the princess royal, and, like another Tell (the name of Tell here produces the most singular effect), pierce vigorously and adroitly the throat of the monster that threatens him; and the blood contained in the large bladders must sprinkle ladies up to the second floor, and cause the spectators to fly in every direction, for that greatly amuses the people."

During the first years of the eighteenth century, a statue of the Virgin, which it was said had been seen to weep, as well as a multitude of other statues with sensitive hearts, was brought from Hungary to the cathedral of Vienna. It was enthroned on the high altar, and became the object of fanatic devotion, for it was said to cure all diseases, and render physicians unnecessary. Thousands of sick people, hoping to be cured by its intercession, sent to the cathedral ex votos representing the part afflicted, or even the whole person. The gifts were of gold or silver, for saints are very fond of the precious metals, and they multiplied so rapidly, that, in 1706, the barbarous offerings covered the walls and pillars of the church, and reached even to the roof.

We must bear in mind that twenty million persons had been sacrificed in Germany to render these grotesque ceremonies and superstitious practices possible among a people already illuminated by the light of the Reformation!

CHAPTER XXIV.

BRUTALITY, DEMORALISATION, AND SAVAGE HABITS OF THE AUSTRIANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

WHILE the Jesuits were mutilating the human intellect in the Austrian states, without being able themselves to resist the lethargy spread around them, we may ask whether they ameliorated the morals, elevated the national character, or moderated turbulent and savage passions? Not the least in the world. The peoples seemed, on the contrary, returning to a state of barbarism, and the picture the monarchy offered at that period now causes a surprise from which it is difficult to recover. Our readers may fancy we are describing, not the eighteenth century, but a far earlier period; for the history of the middle ages does not offer more gloomy or strange scenes. Austria, we shall see, was led away as much materially as she was morally. Now boast to us of the prosperity and comfort of peoples systematically brutalised!

Up to the reign of Maria Theresa, 1640, or somewhat later, bears and wolves prowled round the walls of towns,

attacked armed men, devoured them, and then ate as a relish their boots. Several detachments of cavalry, attacked by numerous bands of ferocious animals, yielded after a desperate contest, and the soldiers and their horses became the prey of the victors.

The bandits displayed equal audacity: it was found necessary to cut down the woods along the high roads in various portions of the country, empty suspicious hostelries, and put in them trustworthy men. Military posts were established on high places, whence the country could be surveyed for some distance, and patrols went out regularly during every hour of the night. The provosts made their rounds once a month, rigorously watched the frontier defiles, and kept up a band of highly-paid scouts, who were not of much service, however, and a more prompt and sure result was obtained by bribing some traitor in the gang, or introducing into it a false brother.

A gang of robbers, who installed themselves near Vienna, between the two gloomy mountains of Gaunersdorf and Wolkersdorf, at the close of the Thirty Years' War, and acquired immense celebrity, held their ground there for more than a century. They were not dislodged till the reign of Maria Theresa, and even then it was found necessary to cut down the forest on both sides the road, and establish a cavalry outpost at the highest point.

The Zingari, or nomadic Bohemians, struck entire provinces with terror. During the insurrection of the Hungarians, commanded by Prince Rakoczy, these wandering tribes were considered to be spies in favour of the Magyars, and a circular, addressed to all the bailiffs and captains, enjoined them to proceed summarily against the

gipsies. "As these vagabonds are without the pale of the law," the official document stated, "at the moment they are seized, all that is required is for them to declare their quality: men and women, let them be shot, sabred, or hung on the spot. Their children alone will be spared, and they will be distributed among the religious houses, to receive a Christian education." After the treaty of Zathmar, which put an end to the civil war, many fugitive soldiers joined the Zingari, and continued hostilities in detail. Ballads and other popular songs have kept up the memory of several chiefs, of a certain Rajnoha among others, who pillaged the whole chain of the White Mountains; while Kovats and Losy, two famous brigands, have left terrible reminiscences in the provinces of Liptau and Thuroes.

On all sides the weakness and incapacity of the clerical government were revealed: the streets in the towns, even in the capital, were no longer cleaned, and an insufficient and awkward system of lighting struggled with great difficulty against the darkness. The ground was not paved, or was so in a way that showed a return to barbarism.

The most cruel manners and savage habits prevailed in these unclean and unhealthy towns. Duels, assassinations in open day, and armed contests, frequently stained the public roads with blood. An Austrian general stopped an ambassador's carriage, and wished to make him get out and fight, and the diplomatist was only saved from the disagreeable situation by the arrival of the watch, and the cleverness and resolution of the commanding officer. A short time before Charles VI. ascended the throne, the

domestic of a legation having been arrested on just grounds, the heyducks, lacqueys, and postilions assembled and attacked the guard with such violence that they were forced to seek shelter in an inn, where they barricaded themselves. The assailants broke in the doors and delivered their companion, and then, carried away by their furious excitement, they attacked the barracks on the new market and plundered them. A superior force led against the mob of serving-men soon brought them to their senses, and a leader of the mob was immediately seized, handed over to the hangman, and hung without any other form of trial.

A still more futile cause provoked a tumult, in which several hundred persons perished, in 1700. Two sweepers, who were playing before the house of the Jew Oppenheimer, banker to the court, picked a quarrel with a Jew boy. The civic guard, considering that one of them went too far, drove him away after giving him a correction. The spectators were indignant that a Christian should be beaten for a Jew, and, as the market was being held on St. Peter's square, where the occurrence took place, some vagabonds stole a quantity of eggs and threw them at the banker's windows, and the eggs were soon succeeded by stones. The main guard stationed close by looked quietly at the tumult, for it was not fond of the banker. The multitude gradually grew excited, invaded the hotel, stole the gold, diamonds, and precious articles, tore up the account-books and all papers, threw the furniture out of window, and staved in the barrels. Oppenheimer, with his family and clerks, had only just time to escape into a secret cellar, where the mob could not

pursue them. As soon as the news of this disturbance reached court, an order was sent to have it repressed by any means. A summons to disperse having failed in effect, the guard fired on the people, who promptly dispersed, but a number of bodies were left on the ground, and as the tumult, which lasted till nightfall, had gradually affected the whole city, loaded cannon were planted in the principal streets and squares. The next day two ringleaders, who were arrested in their houses, a sweep and a gunsmith, were hung to the shutters of the hotel, and when the execution was over, an amnesty was proclaimed to the sound of the trumpets to all those who brought back stolen articles.

The duellists rendered celebrated by their furious combats a place in Vienna now called the Josephstadt. They fought on foot and horseback, with swords and pistols; the fighters came from long distances, and it was the custom at that day for the seconds to take an active part in the quarrel. Passers-by and curious spectators frequently followed their example, so that the duels were transformed into skirmishes.

The quarrelsome spirit of the students, and the hatred and rivalry of the guilds, were another source of disorder. Among the tradespeople, those who displayed the most turbulence were the butchers, the masons, the stone-cutters, and the fishermen. They often began fighting in the streets, and if the civic guard and watch (two different troops) ran up, the brave workmen held their ground against them, and real combats terrified the peaceable citizens. A profound jealousy also animated the two hundred men belonging to the watch and the soldiers of

the civic guard, and it was not uncommon for them to take side with the contending guilds and against each other. A general mêlée then ensued, the troops increased the evil instead of remedying it, and the most populous districts became battle-fields.

A peculiar animosity prevailed between the Jews and the shoemakers, workmen of a bold and mutinous temper, who, in the time of Albert I., had uttered the strange threat that they would fill the palace ditch with their lasts, like fascines, and thus assault the royal residence. Twice, too, during the reign of Charles VI., did the knights of the lapstone engage in violent battles in the streets of the capital: the first time, a certain number of them were condemned to lengthened imprisonment and corporal punishment, but, on the second occasion, the authorities displayed greater rigour. The two ringleaders expiated their warlike ardour by hanging, other culprits were sent to the galleys or incarcerated in houses of correction, while the rest of the prisoners were indulged with very vigorous doses of stick.

The turbulence of the students did not at all yield to the warlike vehemence of the guilds, and they had frequent disputes with the police. Indefatigable hectors as they were, they were not at all afraid of any numerical superiority, and the chroniclers mention one of their leaders, a young man of twenty-five, who alone fought against twenty-four men of the watch, wounded several of them mortally, and dispersed the rest. The university band professed the same hatred for the Jews as the cobblers did, but they held in special aversion one class of workmen, the tailors, and innumerable skirmishes took

place between these inveterate antagonists. At times the disciples of the Muses, as they were then called, amused themselves by braving their adversaries and displaying the contempt they held them in by the boldness of their attacks; five or six champions attacked in an inn some sixty or eighty knights of the shears, put them to flight, and ate the supper prepared for them. We have already seen them draw on the sergeants and interrupt a procession of Jesuits.

The passion for the chase was so impetuous among the nobles, that they treated poachers with the utmost barbarity, and the ecclesiastical princes themselves furnished them with an example. They sabred or shot the maranders on the spot; they cut off their hands or gouged them; they attached them alive to a stag, and then let the terrified brute go, which dashed them against the trees, employed every method to get rid of them, and inflicted atrocious punishment on them. On returning home, these mournful scenes were recounted among the incidents of the chase. Several contemporary pictures and engravings supply us with instances of this.

The fury for gambling reached the extremest limits; it ruined a great number of families, and occasioned duels, suicides, and even sacrilege. Certain gamblers who had not a halfpenny left, and did not possess sufficient courage to kill themselves, employed these means to bring their lives to an end, as a single act of blasphemy was punished with death. Every now and then it was found necessary to draw attention to an ancient law which forbade any man staking his wife, children, or one of his limbs, *which were formed by God for a different use.*

Debauchery was, of course, the handmaiden of violence; Lady Montague tells us that, in all houses at Vienna, a cicisbeo was regarded as an indispensable auxiliary of the husband. No one would venture to ask a married lady to dinner without her two companions; husbands treated their substitutes with admirable gentleness, amenity, and delicacy, and even with a species of gratitude, as saving them a portion of their duties.

Such a state of morals, at once so blood-thirsty and corrupt, could only have been held in check by a clear-sighted administration of justice, equally distant from weakness and excessive rigour, but the magistrates chosen by the monks of St. Ignatius offered an odious mixture of ignorance, stupidity, and cruelty. In his penal code, Charles V. had displayed all the barbarity innate in his character, and ordered frightful punishments, which the Jesuits kept up. It was not till one hundred and fifty years later that Maria Theresa, at the instigation of the enlightened and generous Professor Sonnenfels, published a new code, intended to temper the penalties laid down by the gloomy emperor. And yet, after this modification of the laws, the execution of criminals offered a scene worthy of cannibals. These ferocious punishments did not prevent the judges pronouncing their sentences with unpardonable levity, and several criminal trials enabled Sonnenfels to prove that hasty conclusions, based on a fortuitous concourse of circumstances, caused the final penalty to be inflicted on several persons whose innocence was soon after evident. Other individuals, equally exempt from reproach, were irremediably mutilated by torture, and many died from the effects of the terrible interrogatory!

A mournful and singular fact, which caused the most lively sensation, will give an idea of this procedure. The cashier of a house of high standing, a most honourable and much-esteemed man, noticed one day that a large sum of money was missing. There was no trace, however, of any one having broken in, nor sign of any robbery cleverly performed. He was accused of the theft, and all his protestations were regarded as impostures, to which the question would put an end. Fortunately for the suspected man, his brother was a prelate well regarded at court; he threw himself at the feet of the empress, and obtained three weeks' grace before the application of the torture. Nations in their infancy and those on the decline have the most extraordinary notions; thus, the lieutenant of police in the capital was regarded as a sorcerer; it was even said that he was the king of the gipsies, and his vigilance was the more feared, because he was supposed to be aided by a supernatural power. In order to stimulate his spirit of divination, the ecclesiastic made him several handsome presents, but the time granted had almost expired, and the unhappy affair was not yet cleared up. At last, as the lieutenant was passing through a narrow street in the suburbs, and before an inn of ill fame, cries, songs, oaths, and the clashing of glasses reached his ear. A wedding was being celebrated. He walked in and looked at the husband, whose face was not unknown to him; all at once, he remembered that he had been a long time in the cashier's service. It was a flash of light for him: he rushed on the hero of the feast, seized him by the throat, dragged him into an adjoining room, and artfully said: "All is discovered; your lodging is

being searched at this moment; only an ample and sincere confession this very day can save you; to-morrow it will be too late." The robber, taken by surprise, fell at the officer's feet, implored mercy, confessed his fault, and restored the sum nearly entire. He then explained how he had taken advantage of his knowledge of the locality, allowed himself to be locked up for two nights in succession in the establishment, and committed the robbery without any difficulty. Only this accidental discovery could save from a cruel death an honourable man, who had never given any cause for suspicion.

Lastly, to complete this mournful picture, let us add that the finances were in a complete state of disorder, and the army in such a lamentable condition, that any military operations were rendered almost impossible; food, clothing, and munitions were wanting altogether. When the time arrived to take the field, the troops could not leave their garrisons, or if they set out and fought an engagement, the wounded died through the want of surgeons. Every sort of injustice saddened and discouraged the chiefs, and if one of them went to Vienna for the purpose of complaining, he passed months before obtaining an audience. In 1705, an officer who had come from the army of Italy, having wasted considerable time, on seeing one priest after the other summoned to an audience, uttered an oath, and said aloud, "Cæsar, listen to people who let themselves be killed for you, and not to idlers, who only tell you ridiculous fables."

Such was the state of degradation, the moral and material misery into which the rule of the Jesuits plunged the Austrian nation. Everything languished, everything

perished at their touch or their approach. The order extended the shadow of death over the whole empire; it resembled the Upas, that mysterious tree, which kills animals, and renders the country barren for miles around it. But it is impossible to live in a pestilential air without experiencing some of its effects, and while the Jesuits were brutalising the people, they underwent a similar metamorphosis. Their mode of teaching and studying must inevitably produce this result.

Their insignificant and obscure theology, their narrow and paltry philosophy, their lying and dry histories, possessing no range or interest, and their futile science, could only send them into a lethargic sleep. The men who prepared their class-books probably saw beyond the limited circle they traced, and they selected from their own stores of knowledge the facts and principles harmonising with their object. But their successors no longer perceived the same horizon; having been taught from the defective and deceitful manuals of the society, they had only false, limited, and pernicious ideas, which led their intellect astray, or weakened it. These blind, though probably sincere, masters gave their pupils a deplorable education.

Manifest signs soon revealed their decay. Even the sovereigns whom they held in a state of siege, whom they governed by their address, were obliged to have recourse to another religious association for those diplomatic works they required. If any business or memorial demanded an extensive knowledge of history or political law, the prince could not entrust it to a member of the company. Long before Maria Theresa, during the reign of Joseph I. or that

of Charles VI., this task was handed over to the Benedictines. Their order, therefore, gained increasing importance; by their studies, knowledge, and talents, they gradually eclipsed the Jesuits, even at the time when the latter governed the kingdom as usurpers.

The last literary productions of the monks of St. Ignatius were deficient in interest as in style (indeed, they never knew how to write); hardly any one read "The Commentaries on the History of Albert II.," by Anthony Steyerer of Brunnecken; "The Archæological Essays" of Erasmus Fröhlich on Carinthia, Styria, and the county of Goritz; or the "Annals of the Provinces bordering the Enns," by Sigismund Calles. It was their sunset: from this time they subsided into the cold and dull night of impotence, and only preserved their taste for, and habits of, intrigue. The prime minister Bartenstein then ordered the Benedictines to advance as his reserve troops.

CHAPTER XXV.

STRUGGLE OF THE BENEDICTINES WITH THE JESUITS—REFORMS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

In proportion as intelligence sank in the order of St. Ignatius, the clever and honest order of the Benedictines displayed an activity that grew greater daily, and assumed a salutary ascendancy. Men of remarkable talent were at this moment at their head—as, for instance, Bessel, who, from his earliest youth, had displayed an irreconcilable hatred towards the Jesuits. He had joined the monks of St. Benedict while still a young man, and from that time directed his whole attention to making the high school of Salzburg the first in Austria. In spite of their prayers, stratagems, and efforts, and the influence they exerted in Vienna, Munich, and Cracow, the crafty monks of Loyola had never been able to gain access to it, or to the archbishopric, although the last was a flourishing domain that excited their covetousness and regrets. Bessel determined, then, on converting this province into a place d'armes, where he could draw up the enemies of the

Spanish order, and thence march to assail its despotic authority.

But destiny was preparing for him means of action far more extensive, and a situation much more favourable; he was enabled to commence the struggle at the gates of Vienna, in the splendid abbey of Gottweih, an imposing château commanding the Danube, opposite Krems and Durrenstein. He resided for some time on this poetical eminence after 1693, not suspecting that he would become one day superior of the monastery. Being sent soon after to Seligenstadt to teach philosophy, his talents attracted the attention of the Elector of Mayence, who held him in high esteem, entrusted him with a message to Rome, and eventually appointed him chancellor. At this period he was given the important mission of converting the charming Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Luneburg, mother of Maria Theresa, whose hand Charles VI. had asked, but whom he could not marry, unless she previously embraced Catholicism. While he was instructing the lovely princess, the learned priest affected a far more important conversion, for he induced Bartenstein, the future minister, then a very young man, to embrace the Ultramontane tenets. When he gained the topmost round of honours, the clever diplomatist remained the devoted friend of Bessel, whom he employed, together with his order, in carrying out his vast projects.

Bessel, on being appointed abbot of Gottweih, changed the monastery into an academy. By his zeal, forty thousand volumes, twelve hundred incunabula, and seven hundred manuscripts were collected, and collections of every nature were formed. The monks came to an un-

derstanding with the celebrated monastery of St. Blaize, in the Black Forest, to execute considerable works in common. Two Benedictines alone, Herrgott and Rusten Heer, undertook the gigantic work known as "Monumenta augustæ domus Austriacæ," and other historical publications, such as "Cadavera Habsburgica translata," "Historia Nigræ Sylvæ," the "Codex Rudolphinus," and the "Rudolphus Anti-cæsar:" they were energetically seconded by Martin Gerbert, the future ecclesiastical prince, so that all their expeditions through the past gloriously reached their terminus.

Another Benedictine monastery, that of Mölk, rivalled Gottweih in magnificence and zeal: it was reconstructed from the foundations during the years from 1707 to 1746, like the other house which was burned down in 1718. Its special protector was Count Zinzendorf, the prime minister, who, like Bartenstein, preferred the order of St. Benedict to that of St. Ignatius. Berthold Dittmayer, on being appointed superior of the abbey, converted it into a species of Escurial, a splended edifice at the foot of which the green waters of the Danube glided tranquilly past. Intelligence shone here like a beacon light, and spread its brilliant coruscations for a great distance. Huber, Anselm Schramb, Martin Kropp, and two intrepid investigators, Bernard and Jerome Petz, joined their efforts to those of the prior, for the purpose of executing vast scientific enterprises. The High Chancellor Zinzendorf always took with him the two brothers to act as living libraries, when he had occasion to appear at a congress, and they soon became celebrated not only in Germany, but also in France and beyond the Alps. They

were soon joined by another equally learned and industrious man, Chrysostome Hanthaler, a Cistercian monk, who lived near them at Lilienfeld. They published together several works of great importance, but in which good faith is not always maintained, and they are accused of historic falsifications in favour of the Habsburgs, but this fault with which savants reproach them was a recommendation in the eyes of Maria Theresa.*

While the Benedictines were depriving the Jesuits of the honour of writing all the great historical and diplomatic works of the empire, other men regretted the deplorable state in which they found public instruction, and meditated a reform of the scholastic system. Austria must be dragged out of the shadow of death, and the intellectual winding-sheet the congregation had wrapped round her must be removed. Even in the reign of the Jesuits, those vaunted schoolmasters, it was an urgent, noble, and difficult enterprise to improve instruction. No one felt the necessity more strongly, and contributed to it more ardently, than Baron Gerhard van Swieten, Boerhave's best pupil. He was born at Leyden in 1700; but, for the welfare of his adopted country, his Catholic opinions caused him to be deprived of the professorship he held in his native city. He took refuge on the banks of the Danube, where his merit and his knowledge opened to him the path to distinction. Maria Theresa selected him as her first physician, made him commander of the order of St. Stephen, director of the

* These are the titles of their principal works: Monumenta Austriaca, Anecdota, Codices Epistolares, Scriptores rerum Austriacarum, Austria ex Archivis Mellicensibus Illustrata.

palace library, and president of the censorship commission. Through the high consideration and deference the empress showed him, Van Swieten exercised considerable influence, which eclipsed even that of the ministers and generals, and it lasted for twenty years, till his death in 1772. Although a partisan of the old faith, he was born, and had lived long, in a country of free thinkers, and had acquired from them a healthy habit of mind, a taste for observation and reflection, and new ideas. His lofty reason could not endure the sorrowful spectacle presented by the university of Vienna, for it resembled a mediæval ruin haunted by spiteful spectres, and he gave himself no rest till he had expelled these pernicious phantoms. The gloomy institution was levelled with the dust, and a new establishment sprang from its ruins—an edifice into which the sunshine penetrated, and through which wholesome breezes circulated. His reforms were imitated in every part of Austria hitherto uninvaded by the Jesuits, where the peoples were not absolutely compelled to allow their children's minds to lie fallow.

To aid him in his work, Swieten called to his side a Suabe, distinguished by his free intellect, the honesty of his character, and his varied and almost inexhaustible acquirements. Joseph von Riegger was born at Freyburg in the Breisgau on the 29th of June, 1705. At the age of sixteen he obtained his doctor's diploma, and before he reached his majority he was already doctor *utriusque juris*. When a few years over twenty, he occupied at the university of Innsbrück a desk of recent formation, whence he taught the law of nature and of nations, the history of political legislation in Germany, and the his-

tory of the Germanic emperors and empire. The hate the Jesuits bore him, and their incessant manœuvres against him, did not prevent him being appointed eight times dean of the faculty of law, twice rector magnificus, and being chosen thrice as deputy from the university to the court. The principal juristic establishments, at home and abroad, consulted him on the most difficult and entangled problems of civil and criminal law. In 1749, when the noble academy called Academie Savoisienne, and originally established for the instruction of young nobles intended to fill the offices of state, was reformed, Maria Theresa gave the professorship of canonical law to the learned Riegger, and afterwards that of political law—instruction to which the religious struggles gave extreme importance and an immediate interest. In 1751 he joined the commission of censorship presided over by Van Swieten. It is a fortunate epoch when men of the future are appointed to watch the press, and routine alone is placed in the index! Maria Theresa, herself, employed the words patriot, reformer, liberal, and radical—words which attempts have been made since her time to brand. In her reign they possessed a glorious significance, and they were granted as titles of honour. *Liberal* indicated the opposite of that paltry and rampant spirit which is governed by habit and is utterly egotistical and pusillanimous: while *radical* signified the contrary of all that was fickle, superficial, and inconsistent.* The palace at Vienna would now tremble to its foundations if any thoughtless man dared to pronounce these words before the emperor with any other feeling than contempt.

* Hormayr: Anemonen, vol. iv. pp. 135-6.

In 1756, Riegger at length held a professorship in Vienna, and simultaneously he was nominated to the chancellerie of Bohemia, and reporter-general on ecclesiastical affairs. Soon after, his "Institutions of Clerical Jurisprudence" served everywhere as the basis of instruction, while equal favour was shown to his collection of civil decrees on religious affairs, his dissertations on ecclesiastical councils and chastisements, on the origin and true foundations of canon law, on the Teutonic order, on the rights of nuncios with reference to the free exercise of religion, on the privileges of the secular power in sacred matters, and on those of the King of Hungary as legate by birth of the Holy See. His other memorials, on the authority of the Pope and its just limits, on that of the metropolitans and bishops, on the relations between Church and State and the limits of two powers, his luminous arguments against exorcism, trials for witchcraft, monastic prisons, and eternal vows pronounced at too early an age, as well as the excessive number of saints' days, met with equal success. We may say the same of his discourses on the strict observation of the law of mortmain.

These immense works, which would suffice to glorify several writers, did not merely produce a theoretical effect, or remain confined to the region of speculation, for each of them occasioned an edict from Maria Theresa. As they appeared, the empress published the following regulations: No brief, or bull, could be promulgated without the permission of the secular authority. The nuncios ranked among the first-class diplomatic agents, but must not interfere in spiritual affairs, because they represented

a foreign court purely and simply; and their expensive inspections of religious establishments, which infringed on the rights of the civil power, were abolished. The authority of the Vatican would no longer be sought to lay taxes on the estates of the hereditary clergy (the principal church benefices remained in the same families). The bishops were prohibited keeping up any direct relations with the Holy See or the papal nuncio, and all negotiations between Rome and the Austrian clergy would henceforth be conducted by the chancery or the minister of foreign affairs and the Austrian ambassador to the City of the Seven Hills, so that the popes might no longer pass the necessary limits of secular and clerical power, as they had done for so lengthened a period. Maria Theresa also desired herself to fix the limits of the dioceses, either by dividing those she considered too extensive, or by amalgamating those that were too small; and in this way she would check the authority of all neighbouring bishops at the frontier of her empire.

Not only did she diminish the excessive number of saints' days, which injured agriculture, commerce, and trade, but she severely prohibited exorcisms and trials for witchcraft (1758); she determined the amount convents could demand from novices (1763); established a uniformity of principles in theology and canon law, forbade eternal vows being taken until the twenty-fourth year was passed (1770); she checked any embezzlement of the monastic revenues and squandering of their income, and prevented them placing their capital in foreign countries, grasping for legacies, or having wills

drawn up in their favour. She also ordered the suppression of their dungeons and the corporal punishment they inflicted. These monastic prisons concealed every variety of frightful mysteries: revolting cruelty and unclean debauchery went on there in the obscurity, and corruption outraged the laws of nature, as it braved justice and defied pity.*

Maria Theresa equally abolished the right of asylum, by means of which a swarm of miscreants found impunity in the churches and monasteries. Lastly, she reserved to herself the right of collation to all benefices, large and small, while taking the proper measures that the Pope should exercise no influence over the choice of the persons.

Never, perhaps, has an author produced a more prompt and decided effect by his writings than did Joseph Riegger; such complete obscurity has, however, hitherto enveloped the history of Austria, that his name, but little known in Germany, is perfectly strange in France. No universal biography, to my knowledge, mentions this benefactor of a great nation. His various treatises, in which he developed a system of ecclesiastical law contrary to that preached by the Jesuits, and in which he invoked the authority of the most learned and famous prelates, doubtlessly produced a redoubled effect owing to their coincident appearance with another celebrated publication. It is well known what an intellectual movement was caused by the work of John Nicholas of Hontheim,

* It is impossible for us to translate the language Baron Hormayr employs in describing these hideous saturnalia.

suffragan of Trèves, printed in 1765, under the pseudonym of Febronius;* but many of the reforms the learned professor demanded had been previously carried out.

Joseph terminated his career in 1775, a short time after his friend Van Swieten. When on his dying bed, a prelate, who stated he was sent by Maria Theresa, glided into his room, and addressed an insidious exhortation to him: "At the moment of crossing the fearful passage," he asked him, "do you not experience any doubts or uneasiness with reference to several of your opinions? If it be so, you can retract them without fearing the opinions of men, which no longer possess any importance for you." A slightly ironical smile played round the noble old man's lips as he replied, "I have just reconciled myself with the Eternal. The truth appears to us on the threshold of the tomb. Of all my doctrines I have not a syllable to retract. You say that you come from our beloved sovereign; tell her, then, that I die faithful to the Creator, the empress, and myself. Oh, you Ultramontane gentlemen, when will you learn to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's?"

A third person engaged very energetically in the reform of the schools was Joseph von Sonnenfels, a Jew of Nickolsburg, born in 1733. His grandfather, chief rabbi in the Mark of Brandenburg, possessed a degree of learn-

* De statu præsenti et Ecclesiæ et legitimâ potestate Romani pontificis liber singularis, ad reunieados dissidentes in religione Christianâ compositus. This work was translated into French, and published in three vols. 12mo.

ing that rendered him celebrated among the Israelites; and as his father embraced the Romish dogma when his two sons were still children, they were enabled to study at the philosophic college of Nickolsburg, founded by the generous Prince of Dietrichstein, lord-marshal of the court. Mistaking his vocation, Joseph von Sonnenfels first carried the musket; he then became translator and interpreter, notary's clerk in an office at Vienna, and afterwards paymaster in a new regiment of the body guard, called the Noble Guard. While thus straying from one profession to another, he learned languages, and amassed no ordinary amount of knowledge; but his talents remained useless, owing to the calumny envious persons poured in the ear of Maria Theresa and Van Swieten. Lieutenant-General von Petrasch, who loved and protected him, at length succeeded in dissipating these prejudices, and the young man then quitted his obscure position, and was chosen as professor of political science to the university of Vienna.

Swieten devoted himself especially to restore to human intellect the divine right of free investigation and free thought. Riegger perseveringly combated the fanaticism and encroachments of the Ultramontanes, while Sonnenfels discussed questions of humanity. Before all, he desired to dry up tears, and calm suffering. Sincere, loyal, disinterested, ever exposing himself to obloquy, and animated by the most philanthropic feelings, he appropriated with marvellous facility the experience and ideas of others, transformed them, and immediately gave them a practical character. The German language, corrupted and vitiated in the Austrian states by the instruction of

the Jesuits, their bad style and ill-will, gained in his hands a new life, and seemed to recover like a drooping plant. At the same time, Sonnenfels introduced a better taste on the stage, where only ignoble farces were played.

He improved commerce and finances, in accordance with the healthy ideas which England and France at that period propagated.

To him especially, and to Baron Joseph von Hormayr, chancellor of the Tyrol, is owing the abolition of torture, long prior to the Marquis de Beccaria's book on crimes and punishments. He also gradually removed those terrible sufferings inflicted on persons condemned to death.

In spite of his merit, learning, probity, and love of justice, or, to speak more truly, owing to his virtues and talents, Sonnenfels the regenerator was many times denounced as an impious man, a sceptic, a state criminal, and the scourge of the monarchy; but Maria Theresa never listened to the calumniators, and protected him against every enmity.

Skilful men are less rare than men capable of appreciating merit, and judgment is the faculty of which Nature shows herself the most avaricious. The discernment of Maria Theresa, and her firmness in supporting those whom she thought superior and useful, do her, consequently, the greatest honour. She always found time to receive and listen to them, and even for this purpose neglected her favourite amusement—she laid down her cards! Not only did she treat Swieten, Riegger, and Sonnenfels with distinction, but Rautenstrauch, Bessel, Conrad Celtes, Schmidt, and Spiesshammer,* obtained the same marks of

* John Cuspinian, or Spiesshammer of Schweinfurt, arranged the

interest and proofs of esteem, which the leaders of the aristocracy would have sought in vain.

One of her readers, the mother of Caroline Pichler, one day described the following scene to Baron Hormayr:

An envious and malicious censor had expunged whole pages in an important tract Sonnenfels had written. Indignant at this conduct, the author resolved to brave everything in order to save his work from mutilation. He reached the palace at a time when the empress was absorbed in her favourite amusement, but he did not hesitate to send in his name through his friend the reader.

The slightest circumstance that surprised Maria Theresa, or disturbed her in her pleasures or business, caused her extreme annoyance, even at an advanced age. She, therefore, left the card-table with some irritation, and came into the ante-chamber some moments later, holding her cards in one hand, and with the other pushing back her cap and hair, which fell over her face.

"Well! what is the matter?" she asked. "Are you being annoyed again? What do they want with you? Have you written anything against me? If so, I pardon you from my heart, for a true patriot must frequently be out of temper, but I know your good sentiments. Or have you attacked religion? In that case you are a fool. I cannot believe you have made an assault on morality, for you are not an unclean animal. But if you have cri-

Austrian archives and court library; Celtes founded the literary society of the Danube; Ignatius Schmidt wrote a history of Germany; Stephen von Rautenstrauch, born at Platen, in Bohemia, was superior of the Benedictine monastery at Braunau: he aided Joseph II. in all his ecclesiastical reforms, and is supposed to have died by poison in 1785.

ticised my ministers, oh, then, my dear Sonnenfels, you will be obliged to bite your nails: I cannot be of any use to you. I believe I have told you so often enough."

And the noble woman hurried back to finish her game.

Sonnenfels and Riegger were both handsome men, bearing on their countenances the stamp of courage, and modelled as true champions of the future, although their beauty was not alike. Riegger had a thoroughly German face, a fresh and brilliant complexion, and an expression of straightforwardness and generosity; Sonnenfels, who charmed by his noble features and active and impressionable nature, offered a singular mixture of the German savant and the French philosopher. What a happy union of beauty of form with superiority of intellect and elevation of character!

But though these men of talent and their colleagues were so well gifted, all their efforts would have failed, had they not gained the protection and assistance of Maria Theresa, Joseph II., and the Prince of Kaunitz, who supported them for forty years. Never would public instruction, science, and the fine arts have emerged from their ruins, so much obscurity had the order of St. Ignatius collected round Austria, so much had it weakened, deformed, and paralysed intellect by its cadaverous breath!

CHAPTER XXVI.

GRADUAL DECAY OF THE POWER OF THE JESUITS — THE ORDER IS EXPELLED FROM AUSTRIA, AND ABOLISHED BY CLEMENT XIV.— TRAGIC POISONING OF THE POPE.

THE hour was approaching when the Jesuits would at length lose their most precious conquest, the Austrian monarchy, which they crushed beneath a double weight. The system of mental degradation practised on the people was combated for a long period by generous men with indefatigable perseverance, and their religious domination and political power, although attacked less openly, met here and there with sullen opposition. The Prince of Lobkowitz had openly attacked them on this ground in the latter half of the seventeenth century, but, conquered in the struggle, dragged from Vienna, and confined for life in his own castle, as we have already narrated, his defeat enjoined prudence on the enemies of the order. It required nothing less than an emperor to renew the contest.

Joseph I. detested the congregation. From his eighth

year he had as governor the Prince of Salm, a clear-sighted, reflecting, and unprejudiced man, who loved neither the brothers of St. Ignatius nor superstition, and held the rank of field-marshal in the army. He kept the cunning monks away from his pupil, instilled into him maxims of toleration, and was always present at his studies. He also had his own heir, Lewis Otto of Salm, educated with the archduke. The preceptors of the future sovereign thought in the same manner, and inspired him with similar sentiments. One of them was Dr. Wagner, who taught him history and politics, while the field-marshal often mingled with the master's discourse the results of his own experience. The other preceptor, to whom religious instruction was entrusted, did not belong to the Jesuit order (the first time this anomaly was noticed); the person selected was Baron Francis Ferdinand von Rummel, a native of the Upper Palatinate, who was appointed Bishop of Vienna in 1706, and possessed liberal ideas, a clear intellect, and an honest heart. He amused himself with detecting the intrigues of the Jesuits, and throwing light on their underground manœuvres, and the reverend fathers, on their side, bore him a cordial hatred, and sought by every means to have him relieved from his duties.

Their spite increased daily, and their fury blinded the subtile masters to such a degree that they employed a pitiable expedient. For several nights a mysterious voice ordered the prince, who was now grown up, to dismiss his ecclesiastical preceptor. The archduke growing weary of this performance, one night kept with him Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, a man of herculean strength.

They put out the lights and waited, and the hollow sound was soon heard growling through the silence of night. The two princes immediately rushed to the spot whence the mournful sounds came, seized the officious counsellor, and hurled him into the castle moat, the noise of his fall proving to them that he was not a disembodied spirit. Ferdinand von Rummel did not keep the adventure secret. On the death of Leopold I., the Jesuit Wiedemann, in an emphatic funeral oration, having tried to prove by a succession of facts mingled with numerous errors, that princes educated under the direction of the order had alone been happy and victorious, Joseph banished him from all his states. A series of victories, gained on the banks of the Rhine, in Italy, and Belgium, proved how badly the false prophet had read the future.

To put the seal on the disappointment of the hypocrites of St. Ignatius, Joseph I. dared to break with tradition, and select a confessor not belonging to the congregation, and the Jesuits, transported with fury, immediately sought to excite the Romish Pontiff against the measure and the ecclesiastic preferred. The chief of the Church ordered him to appear before his throne, but as Joseph II. has described this adventure in a letter to the Duc de Choiseul, written in January, 1770, we will leave him the word: "The confessor foresaw the terrible fate that awaited him at Rome if he obeyed the mandate, and implored the emperor to save him from the journey. The monarch tried in vain to avert the blow, but the Apostolic nuncio insisted, in the name of his master, on the departure of the victim. Indignant at this persecution, the prince then said, that if his confessor must absolutely

leave him, he should not go alone, but would have as an escort all the Ignatius brotherhood, who would never return to his states. This energetic declaration, of extraordinary boldness at that period, put an end to the hostile steps of the Jesuits."

In several political affairs the uprightness of the reverend fathers had already been suspected, especially in the triumphant insurrection of the Hungarians commanded by the young Prince Rakoczy. They were also suspected of having favoured the invasion of the Tyrol, when the Bavarian troops entered it under the order of Maximilian Emmanuel. The order, in truth, cannot be faithful to any nation, for the general interests of the society outweigh greatly their interests in any one country. After the defeat of Maximilian Emmanuel at Blindheim, the Jesuits hastened to sacrifice the conquered (an adroit and prudent, if not heroic method), and surrendered Bavaria to the Habsburgs without the slightest regret; and yet no power had done so much for their ungrateful community. Joseph was delighted at this treachery, which was advantageous to him, but, though he profited by it as a politician, he despised in his heart the men whose baseness did him a service.

It was a misfortune for Austria that Joseph I. enjoyed so short a reign; in April, 1711, he died at the age of thirty-three, hurled from the throne into the tomb by small-pox and absurd medical treatment. The people believed he was poisoned.

Charles VI. did not evince the same repugnance towards the Jesuits. Like his father Leopold, he had been destined for the altar, and the sudden death of his brother

Joseph alone saved him from the sacristy and threw around him the imperial mantle. Andrew Braun, a member of the congregation, had been his preceptor; still, he showed himself less docile than the sycophants of Loyola hoped, and restricted their political action. The order would never witness the return of the blessed days of omnipotence. Charles VI. maintained the religious liberty his brother Joseph had granted to Silesia, prevented the persecution of the Moravian brethren, or any interference with the Hungarian Protestants in the exercise of their faith, as the peace of Zathmar, concluded in 1711, guaranteed their spiritual independence. His long reign was a period of transition; he corrected the abuses that had crept into the monasteries, compelled their managers to render accounts, had prodigal abbots and abbesses watched by guardians, subjected to the inspection of bishops monasteries which claimed an exemption, and limited the abuse of monastic prisons, that cruel resource of a mysterious despotism which Maria Theresa entirely suppressed.

The licence of monks and nuns when travelling was severely put down; Mendicant Brothers who came from other countries to plunder the nation were expelled from Austria, and native Cenobites who wished to proceed to the chapters-general of their orders in France or Italy were obliged first to solicit the permission of the emperor and the bishops. As the spouse of Charles VI., the enchanting Elizabeth of Brunswick had only embraced Catholicism in order to ascend the throne of the Habsburgs; she was not animated by an excessive zeal. She was even suspected of heterodox predilections, and a rumour was

current among the people that she read books contrary to the Ultramontane dogmas. Now, the fair Eliza, as her husband called her, exercised an influence over the emperor due to her ambition and her beauty; she loved power, interfered in political affairs, and wished to play a part in the state. Hence her amiable smiles profited the partisans of the new doctrines.

The dissatisfaction of the army, which could hardly endure the defective administration and hypocritical government of the hooded diplomatists, who left them to starve, also shook the authority of the Jesuits. Two military men, the Prince of Lobkowitz and the Prince of Salm, inaugurated the struggle against the ambitious casuists.

Lastly, the rivalry of the other congregations dealt them at times rude blows, for the different monastic orders could not witness without jealousy the excessive power and immense wealth of the crafty society. Hence they sought to undermine their position, and carry their supremacy by storm. The Benedictines openly disputed the first place with them, not by intrigue, but by science, talent, labour, and means more worthy of admiration. Other religious companies evinced fewer scruples, and employed dissimulation and craft, in the hope of supplanting their teachers in cunning. A Recollet monk was very nearly successful during the reign of Leopold I.

His superiors sent him to Vienna, where the austerity of his morals, his zeal for the salvation of souls, and the fervour of his sermons, excited general admiration. The emperor wished to see the holy man, and the apostle, as we may imagine, asked nothing better than to satisfy his

desire. The prince was so touched by his unction, and so astounded at his pious ardour, that he kept him at court that he might continually confer with him, not only on devotional questions, but also on political affairs. The two persons were inseparable, and the monk had attained the height of his desires. Now he only needed to profit by this admirable chance, and the pious emissary lost no time

Gradually, by skilfully employing favourable circumstances, he showed the monarch the numerous inconveniences attaching to the unlimited power exercised by the Jesuits, and the abuses of every description they committed; and as the emperor listened without any displeasure, the brother took the field boldly. He painted the Jesuits as an association of intriguers who exhausted the monarchy, only labouring for themselves, and ready to sacrifice, if necessary, the glory, conscience, and interests of the emperor. Thus they nearly always disguised the truth from him, while they were accumulating immense wealth, disposing of the offices and revenues of the crown, and giving away all civil and military appointments. The people, finding themselves abandoned to these imperious masters, and their complaints and reclamations kept from the knowledge of the prince, gradually detached themselves from him and felt an aversion to him. But did so many material advantages possessed by the Jesuits, so many favours obtained, so much usurped authority, ensure their devotion to Austria—could their affection and zeal be counted on? This was far from being the case; as their plans and intrigues embraced the whole world, they were always ready to betray Austria,

and side with her enemies for any superior interests; hence, the more ground they gained, the more dangerous they became. If, on any occasion, the house of Austria, which had for so long seconded their efforts, appeared to them an obstacle, they would not hesitate to overthrow it. Consequently, to grant them so many favours and allow them to assume so much authority, was to supply them with arms and almost lead them into temptation.

"Doubtlessly," the crafty Franciscan added, "they act so adroitly, that they seem not to interfere. Their cunning may deceive superficial men, but enlightened persons clearly see their tactics. You cannot, conscientiously, put your kingdoms at the mercy of such a congregation, which, if it were deemed necessary, would hurl you down an abyss, and, in the mean while, torments, wearies, and impoverishes the peoples which Heaven has entrusted to your care!"

These just observations rendered the emperor thoughtful, and his imprudence was laid bare to him in the true light. The Minorite then returned to the charge, and ended by turning the mind and heart of Leopold against the Jesuits. He displayed towards them an increasing coldness, which seemed a certain presage of their fall; and though a remnant of old affection still kept them near his person, every one fancied that they would soon be expelled from court.

In circumstances of such extreme peril the monks of Loyola behaved with profound skill. They pretended not to notice the sinking of their credit and loss of favour, and they still moved humbly, patiently, and gently around Leopold; not the slightest trace of annoy-

ance or alarm could be noticed on their smiling and calm countenances, and they displayed towards everybody polished and obliging manners, which evidenced imperturbable serenity. Still, they were watching an occasion for vengeance, and kept on their adversary a half-shut eye, in which the most ardent hatred was hidden beneath feigned inattention. The Minorite could not utter a word, or take a step, without the society being informed of it.

Unhappily for himself, the holy man had some weaknesses, and the agents of the Spanish order, who followed on his track like sleuth-hounds, detected him in some sin which must have been great, for it caused his overthrow. All the necessary proofs and details were laid before Leopold, who banished the monk from his court, though he ordered him not to be otherwise molested, and he was allowed to exercise in the provinces the art he possessed of gaining esteem and affection. What sin had he committed? Had he let himself be caught in the silken snares of some Austrian Delilah? No one knows or ever will know, for the result of this secret struggle was enveloped in impenetrable mystery. The Spanish monks remained masters of the field, and they desired nothing more. But I leave you to imagine with what joy they resumed their supremacy, their devout omnipotence, and how they, we may almost say, remounted the throne they had momentarily quitted! Just as little family disputes rekindle tenderness, the passing coldness between them and Leopold increased their intimacy and redoubled their attention. The mournful star of St. Ignatius, eclipsed during a few days by a tempest,

regained all its gloomy splendour and all its pernicious influence.

Many causes, then, had prepared the success of Prince Kaunitz and the fall of the artful order which separated Austria from the European community. When, at length, public opinion rose against them through the whole civilised world, these tortuous speculators, enervated by their own doctrines and system of education, were no longer able to hold head against the storm. What tactics did they employ for their defence? What warlike machines did they bring into action, or what mines did they dig beneath the feet of their assailants? The entire order was on the alert, in number twenty thousand men, with no other employment but intrigue. On all sides it had churches, seminaries, schools, and professed houses; immense treasures facilitated its enterprises, and seconded its ambitious manœuvres and rancour. And yet it fell like a tree rotten at the roots, which was believed to be enormously strong, and which the slightest puff of wind levelled with the ground, where the passer-by admires its gigantic proportions.

In Portugal, a country they had oppressed for two hundred years, whose people they degraded, brutalised, and ruined, they suffered the absolute power to be torn from them unresistingly by one of their creatures, a violent and narrow-minded man, the Marquis de Pombal. Their rule annoyed him, and he wished himself to exercise an authority more than royal owing to the weak character of Joseph I. He surrounded their houses suddenly with troops in 1759, confined in them the simple brothers, imprisoned the leaders of the order, and accused three

among them of having formed a plot against the king's life. Even more, he handed over to the Inquisition Father Malagrida, who died at the stake. In France, the congregation abandoned to the law courts one of its members of the name of Lavalette, an enterprising broker, whose speculations turned out badly. Hence were aroused an immense scandal and general excitement against the institution. The High Chamber of Parliament in Paris condemned the monks of St. Ignatius to pay 1,502,266 livres and all the expenses; and as this was but a trifle to them, we cannot conceive the excessive avarice which prevented them stifling this unhappy trial.

Here is a graver case of want of skill; Perusseau and Desmarets-Lécluse, successively confessors to the king, absolutely demanded that he should cease to enjoy Madame de Pompadour's society, break off even any innocent relation with her, and in order to compel him they refused him the sacrament. The dissolute and bigoted prince, neither wishing to abandon his mistress nor suspend his devotions, desired a less scrupulous priest, and Madame de Pompadour and the Duke de Choiseul easily prepared him for the expulsion of the Jesuits. For the inventors of a system of morality more than relaxed, for the disciples of Escobar, this rigour was certainly very judicious and opportune! Why did the priests who had been so accommodating to Madame de Maintenon, and held all virtue so cheap, suddenly become so prudish? The reason was, that their weakened intellects no longer possessed that degree of clear-sightedness requisite for intrigue. These masters in the art of tacking and escaping shoals had lost their principal support; when the tempest

burst upon them, they could no longer use the oar or the rudder. Their conduct at Madrid and Rome also proved their intellectual decay.

Their address does not appear, either, to have been greater on the banks of the Danube, and nowhere have I found traces of any skilful and obstinate resistance. The prejudices of Maria Theresa in their favour, her attachment for them, and the force of tradition and habit, defended them better than their own schemes. For a long, very long time, the empress would not follow the examples of Portugal, France, Spain, and Naples, and each time the Prince of Kaunitz proposed the expulsion of the ambitious order and demanded her signature, she would reply, "The Jesuits are the bulwark of all authority." When the minister insisted and pressed her with victorious arguments, she burst into tears. Hence it was necessary to employ great means, and make use of the papers the prince had obtained from the Jesuit Monsperger. He laid before the empress her general confession, written by her director, Father Hambacher, and sent by him to the chief of the society at Rome. Other curious documents edified the sovereign and carried irresistible conviction to her mind; she, therefore, wiped her tears away, and signed the decree of banishment.

The Jesuits, at length, then, quitted the unhappy country against which their fatal skill had been so pitilessly exercised, and where they had satiated with blood their hatred for Protestantism. They wished to avenge themselves on Germany, that country which had been the cradle of heresy, and never did more cruel immolation satisfy an implacable fury. Genseric, Odoacer, Attila,

Genghis Khan, the Sueves, the Huns, the Goths, or the Vandals, were but peasants of Theocritus in comparison with the gloomy order, for they did not, without taking all else into account, destroy twenty million human beings in fifty years. Ah! if all their victims could have issued from the tomb and formed an insulting and mocking escort for them! if all the legions of phantoms could have been summoned up throughout Germany, from Croatia to Mecklenburg, the heroes who perished by the sword, the martyrs sacrificed on the scaffold, the population buried beneath the ruins of burned towns, whole families exterminated by famine, young girls assassinated after innumerable outrages, infants tortured to obtain the conversion of their parents—never would so fearful a spectacle have horrified the conscience and sight of the world! The interminable procession would have covered sixty leagues of ground.

A final exploit marked their overthrow. On the 21st of July, 1773, Clement XIV. published the breve *Dominus ac Redemptor*, abolishing the company. He was a robust man, as was evidenced by his face, his carriage, his proportions, and his perfect health. For eight months longer he was seen walking about Rome with all the activity of youth, for they would not, by striking too soon, reveal the hand that dealt the blow. But one evening, on leaving table, the Pope felt an internal pain accompanied by a great chill, and from this moment all the signs of poisoning were visible; vomiting and weakness in his legs prevented the sovereign pontiff taking exercise; a singular hoarseness changed his voice, and an inflammation of the larynx made him keep his mouth

constantly open. Frightful dreams troubled his sleep, and continued agony preyed on his vitals. Soon reason abandoned him; he rose and threw himself before an image of the Virgin, exclaiming, "Mercy! mercy! I am being tortured!" For six entire months this work of hatred, this incessant agony, lasted. At last, at the moment of his death, the clouds that had covered his intellect passed away; he tried to utter a few words; a monk standing by his bedside bent down to him, but the words died away on his lips, and he breathed his last sigh.

A post-mortem examination proved that the Indian missions had supplied the society with a marvellous drug.*

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Oh, Christian charity! Oh, pardon of insults! Oh, fraternity of the primitive Church!—mild legends of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the wicked servant, or the example of Christ himself becoming a sacrifice and praying for his torturers—were these the sights ye were preparing for the world?

* We have omitted a passage here, in which the author describes the sufferings of the pontiff in language too realistic for English readers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHARACTER, HABITS, AND FANCIES OF THE PRINCE OF KAUNITZ—HIS REGRET AT HAVING JOINED IN THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

THE nineteenth century produced a great number of original types, but neither then, nor probably at any other period, did Nature bring to light an individuality more striking than that of the Prince of Kaunitz, or united more whimsical fancies with really superior talents.

The first singularity was that this man, though thoroughly versed in diplomacy, had an utter aversion from falsehood, and even regarded it as an expedient employed by fools. Dutens relates that, in a room full of visitors, the prince, who was standing before him, kept him a long time, although he had nothing particular to say to him. When the narrator at length attempted to retire, Kaunitz stopped him. "Stay," he said, "I see over there the Prince of ——, who is watching for the moment when I am alone; he is a liar, I cannot endure him, and wish to escape his conversation." Swinburne, the English tourist,

also says: "In business, the chancellor reveals great intelligence, and disdains paltry artifices and falsehood. He keeps silence when he does not wish to express his real opinion." Nothing could be more legitimate and honourable than this aversion, for falsehood is the infamous servant of all crimes, either preceding them to smoothe the road, or coming after to cover them with its protection and throw them into obscurity.

The Austrian prince carried to a ridiculous extent his imitation of French manners, and he even murdered his mother tongue to give himself the air of a Parisian on his travels. Thus he sent to Paris for all the articles of his toilet and adornment, for clothes, linen, utensils, furniture, jewellery, glass, watches, clocks, and other ornaments. French was his usual language; he only read books in that tongue, and especially the writers of the eighteenth century. Frenchmen and persons educated in France always gained from him a preference over Germans, and he treated the ambassador of the French court with peculiar marks of distinction. He and Prince Eugene were the first in Austria to substitute politeness and kindness for the coarseness the aristocracy displayed towards authors, savants, and artists. He showed the latter a degree of favour as honourable to himself as to them; and not only did he invite them to table with counts, princes, and barons, but his marks of esteem gave them the advantage over the latter. When the celebrated Glück was numbered among his guests, the haughtiest members of the nobility were effaced before him. Kaunitz even one day put off his dinner hour for Noverre, a French dancer of immense reputation, although on the previous day he had

ordered it to be served without waiting for an ambassador he had invited. He gave learned men and artists still more solid proofs of his kindly feelings: he went to look for them and anticipated their desires, and he even supported foreign authors, as, for instance, the historian Robertson.

In spite of his desire to appear a Lauzun or a Duc de Richelieu, his attitude alone proved the futility of his efforts, for he had a true German stiffness. The prince, otherwise, was tall, well built, muscular, and thin; the whiteness of his complexion, his light hair, and blue eyes, deep and calm, attested his Sclavonic origin, while his eagle glance revealed the superior man. He had an aquiline nose, regular forehead, slightly prominent chin, and an elegantly shaped mouth. A peruke of huge dimensions covered his head, and he was anxious that all the curls should be equally powdered. Servants wielding puffs were, therefore, arranged in two rows in a private room, and the prince walked up and down between them reflecting on political matters. Each servant sent a cloud of powder over him as he passed, and, after several turns, his peruke was of an immaculate purity. As soon as he was appointed prime minister, the Austrian nobles hastened to imitate this heteroclite peruke.

Beneath the affected licentiousness of his morals and his airs of *petit maître* he concealed a clever mind and great power of application. His inflexible will never abandoned a design, and no cause was powerful enough to draw his mind away from it. Frivolity in politics or in business inspired him with great disgust: he analysed and studied questions deeply, regarding them from every

side. His whole life was spent in reflecting and working; hence he took the greatest care to preserve that evenness of temper necessary for the free exercise of thought; the arrangement of his household, his habits and diet, were calculated for this object. Never was man more sober, and the milk, coffee, and sugar that formed his breakfast were weighed like dangerous drugs. At one o'clock he took a cup of chocolate, and at dinner he only partook of very few dishes: in his old age his principal food was a poulet au riz. After this, he took no more nourishment.

After each meal, whether at home or abroad, the prince produced a box containing a quantity of instruments for cleaning his mouth, small glasses to examine every corner, and towels to wipe it. This operation he performed before all the company, and it lasted at least a quarter of an hour, being accompanied by very disagreeable sounds. One day he was about to perform it with aristocratic nonchalance at the table of the French ambassador, Baron de Breteuil, but while he was making his preparations, his lordship rose, saying to his guests, "Let us go, gentlemen, the prince wishes to be alone." When left to himself, the omnipotent minister performed his task of purification, but from that day no one ever had him again as a guest.

Through the solidity of his reason, the suppleness of his mind, and his continual labour, the chancellor managed to make himself so indispensable that he exercised almost sovereign authority up to the death of Maria Theresa, and then till that of Joseph II., and did not quit his post even when years had obscured his intellect. Although

specially entrusted with foreign affairs, he exerted unbounded influence over home affairs. To him is owing the re-establishment of Austrian finance, which the Jesuits had suffered to fall into the most frightful state of disorder. In 1765, the interest paid by the state was reduced from six per cent. to five, and the rate of interest in commerce fixed at four per cent., under penalty of confiscation. The prince gradually reduced the interest of the national debt, and it was only three and a half per cent. in 1777, or five years after the expulsion of the monks of St. Ignatius. The most skilful operations had entirely restored Austrian credit: by a few words the minister obtained from Baron Fries, the court banker, enormous loans, such confidence was placed in his wisdom and the regularity of his administration. He merely sent for the lender, and said to him, "We want so many millions, which the government will repay you at such a time." The financier asked no more, and letters were sent off to Madame Nettine, at Brussels, to the Sieur de la Borde, and some other famous bankers. The money reached the minister, and the payment of the debt always took place at the specified time.

One of the causes that strengthened the prince's position and augmented his ascendancy was his incorruptible probity. All around him, at court, in the ministerial offices, in the Church and the army, only venal consciences could be found, but that of the chancellor remained inaccessible. Only one man triumphed over his disinterestedness, but he employed such an ingenious trick to succeed that the diplomatist could not resist.

The contracts produced enormous profits. In a meet-

ing of the council of ministers, at which this subject was discussed, Kaunitz spoke strongly against a person whom all his colleagues supported, and to whom Joseph II. himself seemed favourable, as the conditions offered by this speculator were more advantageous than the others. The contractor was a very clever man, and he resolved to set everything in motion in order to obtain an audience of the chief of the cabinet, not at the hotel of the Chancery, but at his own residence, where he never received any one on business. He therefore presented himself at the minister's palace, got hold of his chamberlain, and promised him a large sum on the spot if he would introduce him to his master, for whom he had brought a much larger present, provided he could have the favour of saying one word—only one word—to him.

This strange proposition excited the prince's curiosity, and wishing to read the riddle he granted the audience, while insisting that the conditions should be rigorously fulfilled—the contractor was only to say one word. He was introduced, and after saluting Kaunitz, remained motionless. The chancellor waited some moments, and then asked him what he wanted. The man of business walked up to him with a solemn air, stood right in front of the prince, and said, as he laid his finger on his lips, "Silence!" The diplomatist dismissed him, though not without admiring his stratagem, and soon after proceeded to the council, where the question previously discussed was to be decided. The ministers all spoke in the same sense, and continued to support their protégé, while Joseph equally declared in his favour. Kaunitz did not open his mouth. "Why is it," Joseph asked, "that you re-

main dumb to-day, when you recently pronounced yourself so strongly against the person of whom we are now speaking?" "Because my silence has been bought," the prince replied. "I have been given a very large sum to hold my tongue, so you can judge from that what my colleagues have received for speaking!" Then he described the contractor's visit. The trick was considered so clever that he obtained the contract.

Shall I now describe certain eccentricities of the prince, which rendered him a quaint figure, like those we see pass in the tales of Jean Paul, or the wild stories of Hoffman? Reserve on this head would be unsuitable, for nothing in the world is so curious and instructive as the varied combinations by which Nature produces the human character; she passes and leaves far behind all playwrights and romancers.

His toilet was always an important matter with the Prince of Kaunitz. He possessed good taste, knew how to combine simplicity with elegance, and only displayed luxury on great occasions; thus he could never be tempted to wear embroidery. On the very morning that would terminate the reign of Maria Theresa, while the empress was struggling against death, he had himself dressed with minute care; he would not allow any detail to be neglected or forgotten.

To guard against the variations of the temperature, he constantly had within reach nine black silk cloaks; and in all his apartments thermometers hung, to indicate the degrees of heat. Letting himself be guided by their action, the prince put on or took off a number of cloaks proportionate to the state of the atmosphere. It was an

ascending and descending scale which he was constantly going through.

In all matters he displayed an excessive fondness for order and symmetry. Each day, at morning and night, he arranged with scrupulous attention the different objects that covered his desk; pens and pencils, for instance, must always form perfectly parallel lines. While dictating to his secretaries, he frequently dusted the furniture, vases, pictures, and curiosities; and he invariably wrote down at night what he proposed to do the next day.

The open air inspired him with the greatest horror, and even his carriages were hermetically closed. During the fine season, when a suffocating heat prevailed, and not a breath of air stirred the foliage, he would sit at times for some moments in an easy-chair in the garden of the Chancery, or cross it at full speed to proceed to the imperial palace; but, in either case, he carefully held a handkerchief to his mouth. Maria Theresa had precisely opposite habits; whenever the temperature permitted it her windows remained open, and the sharpest current of air did not affect her health. Thus, as soon as people saw the chancellor, they would exclaim, "Here he is! here he is!" and the servants hastened to shut all the windows.

It is not surprising that this perpetual privation of fresh air rendered his complexion pallid; still he possessed excellent health, hardly knew a day's illness, and lived to be eighty-four. Those slight indispositions which affected him, like everybody else, he cured by taking certain drugs, of which he had formed a very favourable opinion

during his residence in Paris, and each courier brought him a fresh dose.

'Billiards and riding were the only modes of exercise he was fond of. Every afternoon, before dinner, he mounted three horses in turn, each for a certain number of minutes. This promenade took place in a riding-school, illuminated by a great number of lamps in winter; but, on a few occasions, when the heat became excessive, the prince ventured on an amble beneath the trees in his garden. Horses of every breed filled his stables, and he considered himself the best horseman in Europe, which opinion was not at all justified. Writing from Vienna, in 1783, Schlosser says :

"We have been to the palace of the Prince of Kaunitz, at Mariahilf, where we saw him mount on horseback. The minister is seventy years old and more. He rides, however, daily in his riding-house, and during this time gives himself the most ridiculous airs; he behaves on his steed like a madman. When he wishes to go to the right or left he pulls at the reins with all his strength, and while the animal is trotting throws himself back. He told us, however, with the most childish pride: 'That is the way you should do it; no one ought to see how the horse is governed. The spectator must believe that an internal spring regulates its paces and directs its movements.' "

The excessive self-love of the chancellor allowed him no rest, and he fancied he could do everything better than anybody else. At table, he reserved to himself the dressing of the salad; and in this simple operation believed

that he surpassed all culinary artists. In order to mix the oil and vinegar better, he employed a spiral bottle, made expressly for the purpose. One day he was so clumsy as to break it, and scatter the contents over two ladies, between whom he was seated, and who were not especially delighted with it. He also fancied he had a prodigious talent in making the corks of champagne bottles fly out, which, however, did not prevent him from occasionally sending the impetuous liquid over his ruffles and waistcoat.

This man, so cold, so resolute, so full of confidence in himself, so skilled in conquering difficulties, in calculating the chances of success, and forming plans of pleasure and enjoyment, yet trembled before an enemy whose irresistible power confounded him; and this terrible enemy was death. It inspired the clear-sighted minister with so profound a horror that he could not hear the name of the old spectre, and anything even that reminded him of the end of man disconcerted him and struck him with terror. Thus the words "small-pox" made him shudder: he had been attacked by this illness in his youth, and had seen the Empress Maria Theresa on the point of succumbing to it. His suite and his inferiors received orders never to pronounce these funebral words in his presence, and equally so that other word which expresses the final catastrophe with which our struggles and our efforts, our griefs and our hopes, will some day end. He himself recommended his readers, in writing, to abstain from them and pass them over when they met with them in any book or diplomatic document. The words "inoculation" and "vaccine" were also specially odious to him.

As soon as a stranger of distinction arrived in the capital, he was advised to conform, in this respect, to the wishes of the chancellor, and no allusion must ever be made to the anniversary of his birth. No one dared announce to him the death of Frederick II., in spite of the great importance of this event to the minister of foreign affairs; until at length one of his readers said in his presence, as if inadvertently, that the Berlin courier had brought letters of notification from King Frederick William. The prince remained for some time dumb and motionless in his easy-chair, not manifesting by any sign that he had understood the insinuation; at length he rose, walked twice or thrice through the room with his slow and solemn step, then suddenly reseating himself, he raised his hands to heaven and said, "Ah! when will such a monarch again honour the throne?" When Joseph II. ceased to breathe, the chamberlain laid before him a document that sovereign ought to have signed, saying to him as his only explanation, "The emperor no longer signs."

He only learned the death of his sister, the Baroness of Questenberg, who had named his second son her sole legatee, by seeing all his family in mourning. Another of his sons having fallen ill, great care was taken to keep it from him, and the young man's first visit alone told him both the danger he had incurred and his recovery. At times he would send to one of his aunts certain dishes she was very fond of, and which were taken for her from his table; and when this dear lady died, as no one dared to inform the prince of it, he continued to send her

the favourite dishes after she had been four years in the tomb.

And yet (who could guess it? who can foresee how he will end his days?) the timid chancellor was destined to be disgusted with life, and put an end to his own existence! He had grown old on the ministerial throne he occupied for forty years, and no emperor dared to ask his resignation, no one try to tear the power from him. Age, however, had changed his character and obscured his intellect. This man, formerly so calm, had at last no restraint over himself, and gave way to sudden and violent outbursts of passion. He had also grown deaf, which rendered any intimacy with him very difficult, for he would not grant any private audiences, and as it was necessary to shout in order to make him understand, the visitor had, in spite of himself, numerous confidants, and was exposed to a risk of enduring his unexpected outbreaks of passion before witnesses. The man who formerly seemed reserve and discretion itself could not now keep a secret or hold his tongue. In the evening he would speak to foreign diplomatists of the news he had learned in the morning by intercepting their letters and having them copied in the black cabinet, where a key to all the ciphers was kept; and with the same childish ignorance he betrayed the mysteries of the police, and the information they imparted to him about the tastes, morals, expenses, and intimacies of the ambassadors. Hence, it gradually grew into a habit to pass him over, though still keeping up his title and the appearance of authority. Baron Philip of Cobenzel, the vice-chancellor, directed all affairs in his name from 1779, when, with

the assistance of the referendary Spielmann, he concluded the treaty of Teschen, between Maria Theresa and Frederick II., the important act which terminated the war of the Bavarian succession by maintaining the rights of the Palatine house. In the same way the treaty of Pillnitz, directed against France, was signed without his knowledge, which entailed the invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick. The prince at that time was nearly entirely deserted.

At length a scheme was hit upon to bury him, as it were, in his official position. His two acolytes ordered a person to forge his signature, which was thus fraudulently affixed to documents entirely opposed to his principles and opinions. When the aged diplomatist learned this insult, and could entertain no doubt that contempt had been carried to such an extent, he felt himself wounded to the heart. From this time he refused all food, abstained from all remedies prescribed for him, and, like Cardinal Ximenes, died of starvation. He expired on the 26th of June, 1794, the day after the battle of Fleurus, which had just inaugurated an almost interminable struggle between France and Austria by the defeat of the imperial army. His body was transported to his estate of Austerlitz, the spot which a second victory of the French troops afterwards rendered so famous, as if to justify the system of the Prince of Kaunitz, and his perpetual desire to remain the friend and ally of the French nation.

The only grave fault committed by the skilful politician was his having given his consent to, and facilitated the first division of, Poland, although it is true that

Frederick II. spared nothing to seduce him. Further sighted than her minister, Maria Theresa instinctively blamed this iniquitous measure, and apprehended the vicinity of Russia. On the deed itself, to which she affixed her signature, in the name of the Most Holy and indivisible Trinity, after the usual formula, the empress wrote the following protest:

"I ratify the treaty, as so many superior and wise men desire it, but when I have been dead for a long time, the consequences will be seen of a usurpation which wounds every principle regarded as sacred and just."

In the copy of the document which the Prince of Kaunitz would keep, she slipped the following remarkable note:

"When all my provinces were assailed simultaneously, and I knew not where to rest my head, I had to sustain me the testimony of my conscience and the assistance of God. Now, what a difference! Not only does the public law of Europe cry vengeance against us, but we are at war with reason and equity. Never, I confess, have I felt so uncomfortable, and I am ashamed to show myself. Think, prince, what an example we shall give the world, if, for a miserable piece of Poland, perhaps of Moldavia and Wallachia, we compromise our honour, and sacrifice the esteem of the universe! I perceive clearly that I am alone, and that age has robbed me of my resolution; hence, I allow matters to take their course, though not without profound chagrin."

While affixing her signature, the empress wept with the Polish Countess Wielopolska, a young heroine who

killed herself when the iniquitous deed was accomplished.

The chancellor, eventually, recognised his error, and formed a plan for the restoration of Poland, the throne of which country he wished to render hereditary under a prince of the House of Saxony. But it was too late: neither Prussia nor Russia consented to give up her prey.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RESTORATION OF THE CLERICAL RULE IN AUSTRIA — THE CONCORDAT, AND THE EFFECT IT PRODUCED.

WITH the death of Maria Theresa and the definitive accession of Joseph II., who had, up to that time, been almost effaced by his mother, a new era begins in the history of Austria. French ideas ascended the throne, and tried to regenerate the monarchy; but everywhere they aroused a formidable opposition. Before his decease, the crowned Messiah saw his best projects fail one after the other, and experienced the bitter pang of himself revoking his most salutary decrees. Leopold II. still maintained a certain number of his reforms, but he died in 1792, and then, with the Chancellor Thugut and the Emperor Francis II., the old policy again rode rampant, and once more exercised its detestable influence. The Jesuits, though expelled from the empire, left their system behind them, and it continued to govern in their absence the peoples it had brutalised, and the higher classes, which it had demoralised. When the order

emerged from its tomb at the commencement of our century, it must have felt a pride on seeing its work still standing. They needed only to take possession of it again, and instal themselves, as heretofore, in the edifice where fear, ignorance, misery, bigotry, and idiocy still reigned, and where they again found on the stones the traces of the blood they had shed. As we may imagine, they neglected and despised no means by which to gain their ends, and their efforts were crowned with success.

It was in the scope of my work to describe this succession of curious and tragic events, and follow step by step the court of Vienna from 1780 up to 1859. But historical works cannot be improvised, and considerable time is required to read and study documents. I will, therefore, publish the second part of my work under a special title, "Contemporary Austria," and will content myself here with offering the reader a sketch of the Concordat, the imperial family, and the projects of Austria.

The Austrian Concordat, signed on the 18th of August, and promulgated on the 5th of November, 1855, has had the primary result of arousing theological passion. The country of John Huss, Luther, and Melancthon has been again troubled, as if by the approach of a storm, the end or violence of which cannot be foreseen. Lutherans, Calvinists, and the numerous sects that emanated from the Reformation, are all expressing their anxiety. Windows are opened—people stand in the doorways and survey the gloomy clouds that shoot across the sky to the hoarse growling of the distant thunder. The frightful reminiscences of the Thirty Years' War are rekindled in every mind. "What is about to happen?" people ask, in

a mournful voice. "Will another Wallenstein, or Tilly, or Ferdinand II., plunder Germany, and, like his predecessor, throw back civilisation for a century and a half?"

The Austrian Concordat is, in fact, the most humble act of submission, and the most unlimited homage, the Holy See ever yet obtained from a temporal power. Since the stern winter of 1077, when the Rhine remained ice-bound from November till April, and the Emperor Henry IV. passed three days, barefooted and in his shirt, without food, in the court of the castle of Canossa, imploring the pardon of the fanatic Gregory VII., the world has never seen anything like it. The partisans of the Concordat do not attempt to conceal this, or attenuate its extreme importance. I have before me an anonymous pamphlet, published at Vienna, and which has all the appearance of an official document, and I read in it these remarkable sentences: "Ample Concordats, affecting the questions of principles, regulated in 1851 the spiritual affairs of Spain and Tuscany; but the Austrian Convention of the 18th of August last possesses far higher import, and is really unique of its kind: it completely abrogates the pretensions of the temporal power aroused in Germany by the example of the Gallican Church, and restores to Catholicism its primitive rights, which have been so long violated."*

The opening paragraph of this pamphlet will not appear less curious out of Austria:

"The Concordat is an act which will become a landmark in the history of our empire. The emperor and the Pope are equally satisfied at having signed it, for it substitutes

* Studien über das oesterreichische Concordat, p. 41. Wien: 1856.

a definitive peace for a long and painful misunderstanding.

"The emperor has reason to rejoice: he has performed a deed of magnanimous equity, the remembrance of which will be a glorious crown for him down to our latest posterity, and will place him between Constantine and Charlemagne, both illustrious in history in consequence of their generosity to the orthodox Church, the real source of all their greatness (*worin wesentlich ihre ganze Grösse würzelt*). The sovereign pontiff has equal reason to be satisfied, for he has cause to hope that, from this new seed, a better future for Austria will grow and flourish. What Pius VI. tried to obtain by a painful and dangerous journey, the grace of Heaven has granted to Pius IX. Had the Concordat of 1448 been equally radical, the pretended Reformation, with its fearful disturbances and sanguinary results, would probably not have agitated the world."

This is certainly a most significant declaration. A compact which is considered sufficiently binding to have suppressed in the sixteenth century the immense revolution of Protestantism, had it only been concluded before that period, must necessarily possess considerable value and range; the historian and the statesman must closely investigate it. As for Ultramontanes, the true believers, our anonymous author tells us they greet it with feelings of triumph and shouts of joy.

Still it excites a very different emotion among their adversaries, and even among a considerable number of orthodox priests. Through the rest of Germany, in the whole of Protestant and Calvinistic Europe, in Switzerland

and Piedmont, a restless clamour has been aroused, like the warning cries of the sentinels on the bastions of an invested fortress. Some cannot see without trouble and indignation *this abasement of the throne, this voluntary abdication of the imperial sovereignty;** others deplore the new power with which it arms the Jesuits, those eternal tyrants of a hapless people; while others, again, regret that the empire should thus have eternally alienated the sympathies of Lutheran Germany. The government, one party says, has lost all political independence, and will henceforth be only a vassal of the Holy See; worse still, the others reply, it bends the knee to France, from whom the Pope receives orders, as he owes to her the re-establishment of the pontifical throne. Certain publicists, on the other hand, regard this grave measure as an act of secret hostility to France, for such astounding concessions must enchain Rome to the interests of Austria. Several papers considered it as a league formed between the spiritual and temporal power, to render still heavier the yoke oppressing the nation. The Swiss papers feared from it indirect efforts for their own country; and *L'Opinione* of Turin went so far as to say that the Emperor of Austria would not be so weak as to sign such a convention. In short, all enlightened men uttered a cry of alarm, while the Ultramontane papers, *L'Univers* and the *Journal de Bruxelles*, among others, lighted bonfires and danced around them, like Hurons round the pyre on which their enemies are about to perish.

But the most lively recriminations were those raised by the Prussians. The Concordat seemed to them a snare

* We here employ the very words by which the Austrian government announces the effect produced on the Dissenters.

laid for Protestantism, a trap in which it must perish, at least in the vast domains of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Not a word was noticeable in it concerning the Lutherans and other Reformed sects, and no stipulation in their favour; such silence was a very evil omen. The compact of August 18th hence adds a principle of discord to those which already excited the two great Germanic powers against each other.

In Austria itself complaints were not wanting. A large number of individuals, both laymen and ecclesiastics, remained faithful to the principles of the Gallican Church, introduced into their country by Joseph II., and which spread through Germany during the twenty years he occupied the throne. Nicholas of Hontheim, vicar-general of the archbishopric of Trèves, published in 1763 a work entitled "Justini Febronii, De Statu Ecclesiæ et legitimâ Potestate Romani pontificis, liber singularis"—that is to say, "The State of the Church and the legitimate Authority of the Roman Pontiff." Febronius, we see, was a pseudonym assumed by the pious author, and it has since served to distinguish his followers, who are called in Germany *Febronists*. His system is based on the principles laid down by Bossuet: 1. Complete independence of sovereigns in temporal affairs; the chiefs of the Church cannot depose them, either directly or indirectly, or dispense their subjects from obedience; 2. The supreme authority of councils, promulgated at the council of Constance, whose decrees were approved by the Holy See itself, and have, at all periods, been observed in their spirit by the Gallican Church; now, these decrees expressly state, that if the Pope or any other person refused

to submit to the decisions of the councils, *a penance proportionate to their obstinacy must be inflicted, and they would be punished according to their deserts, force being had recourse to if found necessary;* 3. Although the Pope exercises the principal influence in questions of faith, and his decrees are addressed to the collective body of the faithful, his judgment is not infallible, unless it be based on the consent of the whole Church; and 4. The apostolic authority cannot infringe the laws inspired by the spirit of God, and consecrated by the general respect of men: all principles, observances, and institutions, established in particular kingdoms and churches, must be unassailable.

Such were the declarations of the French prelates in 1682, and they produced a democratic revolution in the heart of the Church. The Roman pontiff lost his absolute authority, and found himself driven back from the temporal into the spiritual world, where a species of universal suffrage was organised against him. The privilege of making and publishing fundamental laws was taken from him; when the ecclesiastical body required new statutes, a constituent assembly could alone decree them. If the Pope refused obedience, they had the right of punishing him. The clergy, then, though so hostile to democracy in politics, considered it good and profitable in the bosom of the Church; the prelatic aristocracy, and the inferior clergy, who represented the people, rose against their chief, or tonsured monarch. By virtue of republican principles they divided his supreme authority among themselves. Looking at the part Bossuet played during this struggle, can it be believed that he was so humble and servile in presence of Louis XIV.? It was in the

hope of liberating the king, and augmenting his privileges, that he was the enemy of absolute power in the Church, reformed the constitution of Gregory VII., stripped the pontifical throne of its right divine, and substituted for it universal consent.

The Gallican doctrines, then, obtained the approval of Febronius, who developed and strengthened it by several new maxims; he destroyed, or nearly so, the jurisdiction of the popes and their right of punishment; he conferred on the civil authority the direction and control of the seminaries, the investiture of pastoral dignities, and, as far as possible, the administration of ecclesiastical property. The Protestants favourably received a system which reconciled Catholicism partly with their own ideas. The archiepiscopal princes of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne, the three electors of the Holy Empire, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, also felt pleased with it, for it liberated them from the supremacy of Rome. During the year 1786 they held a conference at Ems, by which they definitively adopted it, and resolved to put it in practice.

For some years past the new system had been agitating Austria. The Emperor Joseph II., directly after mounting the throne in 1780, desired to apply the maxims proclaimed in France by the thinking men of the eighteenth century, and he published his edict of toleration, which established perfect equality of worship. The Protestants, hitherto persecuted, had the right to profess their religion publicly, and the monarch himself built them churches. The Jews were declared admissible to all offices, and the Catholics were separated, as far as possible, from the court

of Rome, by giving the force of law to the principles of Febronius, or, in other words, of the Gallican Church. The bishops received authority to grant those dispensations hitherto obtained from the Apostolic See, and the ambitious bulls, beginning with the words *Cœna Domini* and *Unigenitus*, were suppressed. The emperor closed seven hundred monasteries, and employed their revenues for the benefit of the secular clergy, imposed charitable works on the nuns, and forbade all traffic in indulgences, amulets, and prayers. The number of ecclesiastics during his reign was reduced to thirty-six thousand. Lastly, he erased from the breviary the orisons addressed to Gregory VII., which had kept up the memory of Henry's humiliation for so many centuries.

So many innovations, effected as soon as decreed, profoundly troubled the court of Rome. The Pope wrote letter upon letter to the emperor, but his remonstrances produced no effect. Pius VI., therefore, formed the resolution of going to Vienna, and holding a personal conference with the revolutionary disciple of France. The behaviour of Henry IV. and the scene at Canossa were about to have their counterpart: in the eleventh century the temporal power had bowed the knee before the insolence of clerical authority; but now the Church appeared before the throne of the emperor, submitted a request to him, and implored his kind offices.

Joseph II., like Gregory VII., showed himself inexorable. The Pope was received with marks of deference and the politeness of modern times, but obtained no concessions. The work of the philosophic monarch remained upright; neither the French invasion, the Congress of

Vienna, nor the thirty-three years that followed, could shake it. It formed the ecclesiastical code of the empire until 1849, but on the 23rd of April, 1850, a rescript of the present prince gave it the first blow, and the new compact utterly overthrew it.

But an institution does not disappear after an existence of seventy years without leaving some traces behind. Febronism, or *Josephism*, as it is still called, has, therefore, in the Austrian states, a great number of partisans who blame the Concordat. The government cannot disdain their objections, for they are based on respectable principles, already sanctioned by usage; but they reply to them by attacking the Gallican Church and the religious tendencies of the Bourbons. This polemic, we grant, is carried on with considerable intelligence and skill, and it is the groundwork of all the pamphlets and newspaper articles published on the banks of the Danube. France, without suspecting it, offers a mark to the German Ultramontanes.

The inferior clergy could not read without alarm the treaty drawn up with the Apostolic See, for, while it guaranteed the higher clergy all sorts of rights and privileges, it contained no stipulation in favour of the simple ecclesiastics, and afforded them no refuge against oppression and tyranny. Their chiefs can appoint them to lucrative livings, or depose them, punish them, and confine them according to their good pleasure. Article 11 is thus drawn up: "The bishops will have *entire liberty* to inflict the punishments arranged by the holy canons, *or others they may judge suitable*, on clerks who do not wear a proper ecclesiastical costume, agreeable to their order

and dignity, or who, in any way, may deserve blame, and can confine them in monasteries, seminaries, or special buildings." This is the organisation of episcopal despotism; there is no resource, no appeal, in the case of abuse or injustice; the victims can only bow their heads and suffer in silence.

A certain number of politicians form a last class of malcontents, among them Herr von Bruck, the minister of finances. The prodigious concessions made to the Pontifical government fill them with fear: the Concordat seems to them pregnant with storms, and the court of Vienna governed by a fatal illusion. The emperor, according to them, has established in his states a power which will soon stifle his own, or, at least, dispute the supremacy with him, and approaching contests are inevitable. What grave complications may emanate from such a struggle! In April, 1856, the first thunder-claps were heard on the horizon: a synod was convoked by the emperor, the presidency of which he wished to give the Archbishop of Vienna; but Pius IX. convoked the same synod, without mentioning the ministerial circular, and insisted on appointing the Papal nuncio to the presidency. The Archbishop Othmar was only to appear there as a member of the Church. A subterfuge was discovered to smoothe down the dispute, but, for all that, the war had begun.

We pass silently over the confusion produced in public instruction, in the press, and in family unions once projected but now subordinate to the decisions of the bishops. A number of private grievances and causes of alarm are mingled with the general restlessness.

The Austrian government, however, does not despise objections or complaints, as we might be inclined to believe. On the contrary, it replies with carefully elaborated articles and pamphlets. These works explain the full extent of the Concordat, the conduct of Austria, and reveal her hopes and plans. They cannot be studied with too much attention, for they prove that the recent compact is one of the gravest and most curious intellectual and political phenomena of our age.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ILLUSIONS OF AUSTRIA AS TO THE VALUE OF THE CONCORDAT — IT ANNOUNCES AND PREPARES A RETURN TO THE GOLDEN AGE.

THE illusions Austria entertains about the Concordat are so strange and simple, that they form an exceptional phenomenon in the policy of our age. After thirty years' experience—after so many historic events stained with blood and tears—people yet allow themselves to be dazzled by such chimeras! A simple description will almost suffice to show how futile they are, and what disenchantment they are preparing for the Vienna diplomatists. Let us, then, examine the waking dreams of the Austrian publicists.

The reconstruction undertaken in the monarchical edifice of the Habsburgs since the victory of the imperial party, could not, they say, be effected without injuring the interests of many; ancient pillars, even heavy walls and galleries, had to be removed. This system of under-building is never performed without peril. But the compact of August 18 will prevent catastrophes and

consolidate the buildings. It forms a number of arches which will support the groundwork, strengthen the general structure, and tie together the different parts. Henceforth, perfect unity will reign. The instructions and orders sent from on high will not die away like empty words: a multitude of laborious and busy agents, spread over the whole country—the priests, in a word—will hasten to carry them out and second the projects of the sovereign.

How could the state but gain by this? According to the precepts of its founder, the Church must render all men good and pious, just and honest, chaste and temperate; it should necessarily remind them of, and engrave on their hearts, the divine law of charity; it is also bound to teach them obedience and respect for the secular authorities, provided that these latter do not stand in opposition to the ministers of the Lord. The mission of the Church compels it to prove that, under pain of damnation, taxes must be punctually paid, and the sovereign and the public functionaries prayed for, that the Creator may enlighten their hearts, and lead them to virtue and the height of prosperity. If the Church spreads this spirit and these feelings around, the empires and kingdoms must profit by it. A country inhabited by gentle and honest, sober and chaste, charitable and affectionate citizens who always obey, never speak falsely, who pray for their temporal chief and his servants, and who love peace and concord—such a country assuredly offers the ideal of political society. Now, the Church incessantly strives to attain this ideal, and even if it does not entirely gain its object, owing to the obstacles that beset everything

human, still it perseveringly draws near it, and the more successful its efforts are, the more tranquil and prosperous the states become.

As it is so useful, would it be possible to refuse it the means of action required for its work? A Church which has its hands tied renders but slight services; but a powerful and opulent Church, endowed with numerous privileges, and surrounded by honours, works potently for the welfare of the nation. It converts every country into a model of an earthly paradise. Those persons who do not believe this are Gallicans and sceptics; but experience will soon convince them of their error. Open your eyes, ye libertines, faithless men, and hardened mockers, for you are about to behold incomparable prodigies!

The interpreters of the imperial government say that we must not feel alarmed, therefore, at the numerous prerogatives conferred on the Holy See by the treaty of August 18. It assures it the freest, most frequent, direct, and extended communication with the Austrian clergy and the faithful. Does any one think it will abuse this privilege? It will only serve for the happiness of Austria, and moralise the sacerdotal body. Has not the heir of Saint Paul a special interest in all the priests being models of virtue? He can, then, count on their obedience, and motion and manœuvre, his black-gowned army, on the slightest signal, with prodigious regularity. Hence, the Pope will watch over the ecclesiastics of the empire, bow them beneath the yoke of severe discipline, and keep them on the path of justice. The Austrian

bishops and priests will, henceforth, be angels of abnegation and purity.

They, in their turn, will strive to excite enthusiasm by their conduct. Popular governments possess one signal disadvantage: they grant the most precious rights to persons who do not understand their use, and, in their ignorance of their immediate utility, do not suspect the mournful consequences of their errors, or divine the fruitful results of judicious policy. The priests are infinitely further sighted; they will be cautious not to act against their own interests, or compromise a brilliant position. It is of the utmost gravity to them that they should be esteemed and loved, and their influence be thoroughly felt; and hence they will make a wise and moderate use of their prerogatives. The Austrian seminaries will become so many folds whence spotless lambs will issue, and the holy men of Germany will be so abundant, that the Church will hardly know how to employ them, and will find difficulty in canonising them.

The ecclesiastics will be the more irreproachable, the Austrian politicians tell us, and will the more strive to appear to the faithful endued with that nimbus of piety which surrounds predestined heads, because envy is the eternal companion of privilege and the indefatigable adversary of the more powerful classes. All the world will, henceforth, watch their conduct, observe their countenances, and interpret their discourses. The officials, above all, will pursue them with their malignant vigilance; for there is in the empire an old enmity and implacable antagonism between the bureaucracy and the wearers of

the cassock. The new privileges and extraordinary favours the latter have obtained will envenom the hatred of the administrative body, and a profound jealousy will excite these two influential bodies against each other. The priests, therefore, must keep on their guard, and not expose themselves to the attacks of malevolence and irony.

But, it will be asked, what advantages will the people derive from this political and religious compact? for we must always come back to that. Laws and treaties that do not ameliorate the lot of the masses possess no value; of what use, then, will the Concordat be to the different nations grouped round the Emperor Francis Joseph? To this the Austrian diplomatists reply that no institution has ever yet poured such a deluge of graces and happiness over any country as this does. Their demonstration is certainly original.

For a people to be badly governed, either pernicious principles and crying abuses infect the sources of authority, and no person has the right to supply a remedy, or the agents of the government, not being subjected to a rigorous surveillance, fall into an arbitrary system, neglect their duties, and injure the interests of their subordinates.

France, and the Bourbons themselves, would have benefited largely had the ecclesiastics of that country been more influential and free, been enabled to repress *silently* and *secretly* the prodigality of Louis XIV., suspend his disastrous wars, and overthrow the rule of the courtesans, which reached, under Louis XV., the utmost verge of folly and impudence.

It would be an insult to the Habsburg dynasty to compare it with the Bourbons, for the imperial family of Austria has ever been distinguished for its irreproachable morals, and the treaty of August 18 will maintain it in these virtuous sentiments. But, if some day the prince were to abandon that luminous path in which just men walk—if he were to commit faults, and give way to his unregulated passions, then the sacerdotal caste, in their present organisation, stimulated by their conscience and authorised by God, would be able to address remonstrances to him and explain his duties, and thus, without disturbance, scandal, or any compromise of the monarch's dignity, inspire him with better feelings and more virtuous designs. Did not the kings of Spain always take as their guides the Papal nuncio, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Grand Inquisitor?

As for the public officials of every class, they will be unable to molest the people, infringe the law, or make any culpable use of the authority entrusted to them by government, for the clergy will keep an eye upon them, and discover and denounce the slightest infraction. If anything were to escape the vigilance of the chiefs, it would not escape their notice. Their pious ministry opens to them every door, every conscience, and gives them means to penetrate everywhere. They will watch over the administrative hierarchy like those cherubim to whom God entrusted the destinies of a city or nation, who held in one hand the book of the law, in the other the flaming glaive, and observed the actions of mankind.

The Austrian Concordat, therefore, possesses the value of a liberal charter, if we may believe the writers of that

country. Why have political constitutions been demanded with such feverish ardour during the last sixty years? Partly through the fashion of the thing, but partly through prudential motives. As faith has died away in the souls, and the punishments of another life no longer inspire terror, the people feel that material guarantees are necessary against oppression and injustice. Now, the Austrian clergy form from this time forth a national representation; they will better defend the popular interests, and more easily explain to the temporal rector the state of temper, the wants and wishes of the multitude, than those deliberative assemblies where greedy lawyers chatter, servile officials sleep, obtuse tradesmen give their votes, and the readers of romances and journals swagger.

Such is the intimate idea of Austria, such the fruits she hopes to obtain from the treaty with Rome. Nothing else will be discovered in the semi-official pamphlets or in the pastoral letter of the Archbishop Othmar, primate of the empire. How can statesmen, men who have grown old in business, nourish such illusions, or conceive such vain hopes?

The basis of the illusion is the infantile idea that the new rights, means of action, and privileges of every description recently obtained by the Austrian clergy, will raise the people, aristocracy, emperor, and sacerdotal body, above human nature. Henceforth there will be no vices, aberrations, ambitious projects, or culpable desires. The workmen and citizens will display in their conduct the image of all the virtues. The nobility will be not the less chaste, sober, docile, and pious: they will humbly bow their heads before the mitre and the amice. The priests

will literally carry out the laws of the Decalogue, the maxims of the Gospel, and the precepts of the casuists. The sovereign, modest, laborious, gentle, and chaste, will listen without impatience to all the advice the prelates may deign to give him, and all the reproofs they may fancy themselves obliged to address to him. The public officials alone will not constantly follow the right road, but the clergy will soon bring them back. Austria, therefore, will be before long the promised land where the golden age will display its marvels, and intelligent men, no matter to what country they may belong, will weep at the thought that they did not see light on the banks of the Drave, the Theiss, or the Danube.

The chief argument on which these brilliant suppositions are based is the very extent of the privileges granted to the ministers of the Church. They will display their delicacy in not abusing them, and thenceforth all will go on swimmingly in the best of worlds. As if history did not prove exactly the contrary! Give a caste or simple corporation any right or prescription, and it will make an unlimited use of it, and only stop before an obstacle or resistance, because it has not the power to go further. Pride, avarice, every human passion urges it onwards—even the noble faculties of our species, which is annoyed by limits, and ever tends towards the infinite. If a king govern thirty million subjects, he envies the prince whom sixty million obey: the latter in his turn dreams of a universal monarchy; and Alexander the Great desired unknown worlds over which to extend his conquests. Nothing destroys, moderates, or satifies ambition, that most insatiable of all the passions that over-

throw the universe and trample the human race under foot.

It will hardly be said that the Catholic priests have hitherto been kept in a state of dependence, and have always held an inferior position. The mediæval annals tell us differently, and the rash experiment from which Austria awaits her salvation has already been tried. The ecclesiastical order possessed, two hundred years ago, all the privileges now granted it, estates and treasures which cannot be returned, and an influence which cannot be restored: for several centuries it governed Europe, made princes kneel before the chasuble and stole, caused entire populations to rise in the name of the Saviour, and produced calms and tempests alternately in human minds. Did this render the clergy more modest, just, virtuous, disinterested and charitable? The massacres of the Albigenses, the Saint Bartholomew, the punishments ordered by Philip II., the Borgias, the Thirty Years' War, the crafty schemes of the Jesuits, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the French and Austrian dragonnades prove the contrary, and show that extended privileges do not at all purify those who hold them. The internal history of the clergy proves this even better: such depravity glided daily into the monasteries during the middle ages, that a reform became indispensable every fifteen or twenty years. Pierre Damiani, an Italian bishop in the eleventh century, has left us a detailed work on the morals of the clergy, which would make the most immodest men blush. When Pope Victor II. took measures to combat these excesses and put an end to the irregularities, the Roman priests formed a conspiracy: a

sub-deacon poured poisoned wine into the chalice, but not having been able to execute this profanation of the sacred mysteries without trembling, his emotion betrayed him, and he expiated beneath the axe his criminal intentions. Not only did the clerical order invade the territory of Europe; not only did it display insatiable greed, and a scandalous desire for luxury and pleasures; not only did it possess, in spite of the Gospel, troops of serfs, but it wished also to plant its foot on the neck of kings.

The popes set up this claim in the ninth century. Gregory IV. and Nicholas I. opened the road along which their successors would drive their triumphal chariot. Gregory VII. established absolute power in the bosom of the Church, and aspired openly to universal monarchy. Outside the pale of the Church, kings trembled before this surpliced priest crowned with the symbolic tiara. His work was consolidated by Innocent III., and Boniface VIII. completed it. The pontifical authority governed for some years all the temporal powers, like the summit of Mont Blanc towers above the Alpine chain. It declined from that period generation by generation; but the Apostolic court was not humiliated by reverses, and kept up the same arrogance and ambition. The famous bull *in cœnâ Domini* proved, in 1568, that it did not abandon its plans of religious and political supremacy; and, though three hundred years have passed away, the tenor of the Concordat still reveals that the haughty spirit of Gregory VII. animates the Church.

It is asserted that the encroachments of the Holy See, and the species of usurpation committed by it at the first synod, together with the increasing demands of the Aus-

trian clergy, have rendered the young emperor, who concluded the new compact under his mother's influence, rather thoughtful. Pitiless laws against the press are demanded to-day: to-morrow other measures will be insisted on. By degrees the domain of the temporal power will be restricted, and it will be rendered a simple *annexe* to the spiritual power. If the prince, then, try to reclaim his rights, the reply will probably be:

La maison m'appartient: c'est à vous d'en sortir.

Let him remember the interminable struggles of the German emperors against the Apostolic See, the lamentable end of Henry IV., who died of want in the bishopric of Liege, of Philip I. of France, and so many excommunicated monarchs. Theocracy is the foundation of the Papal policy.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHRONIC OR INTERMITTENT MADNESS OF THE HABSBURGS — THEIR INFLEXIBLE OBSTINACY—CONCLUSION.

THE Austrian Concordat and the reflections it suggests to Viennese writers, and the perpetual schemes of the government to prepare the annexation of the Rouman provinces to the empire, throw ample light on the power of tradition on the banks of the Danube, and the incorrigible obstinacy of the Habsburgs.

This strange, almost fantastic family frequently borrows from the visionary world the motives for its gravest acts and its most enduring conceptions. Its history, or, to speak more correctly, its physiology, explains the singular spectacle with which it strikes all thoughtful minds. Through Mary of Burgundy, it descends from Charles the Rash; through Joan the Mad, from the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. We also know the gloomy, violent, terrible, and daring spirit of the Burgundian prince, whom Louis XI., after the battle of St. Jacques, drove into a squabble with the Alpine mountaineers

Unable to discover the snare, he broke all his strength against their intrepidity, and died the victim of his obstinacy and want of foresight. The marriage of his grandson with Joan of Arragon allied two mournful elements: the frenzied exaltation and impatient will of the Flemish sovereign, and the inexorable fanaticism of the Spanish monarchs.

In this unhealthy and feverish blood the insanity of Joan the Mad mingled a new principle of moral perturbations. Hers was not a gentle and mournful mania, like that of the jealous queen, who, after she had poisoned her husband, Philip the Fair,* because she supposed him faithless, and convincing proofs showed her error, took his corpse from the tomb, had it richly dressed and placed in a glass coffin, which she incessantly kept near her. Neither by day nor night, save for a few hours when she snatched a restless sleep, did she turn her eyes from these livid remains. She allowed no woman to approach them through an instinct of jealousy that survived her reason. Through fear lest the body might be torn from her, she undertook frequent journeys, usually setting out after nightfall, and the body was borne before her in the light of numerous torches. A monk having persuaded her that the prince would come to life again in fourteen years, the queen awaited with infantine credulity the accomplishment of the prophecy. The miracle

* This poisoning of Philip the Fair had hitherto remained unknown, but a letter of the Count of Furstemberg, who escorted the prince into Spain with three thousand Landsknechts, a document discovered and published in 1849, leaves no doubt as to his premature fate. He was only twenty-eight years of age.

did not take place, as we may easily assume, and she then fell into a state of raving madness. Her outbursts of fury compelled her imprisonment in a solitary tower, where for thirty-six years she never once left off raving or giving way to the wildest extravagances. She did not die till April 12th, 1555, three months before the abdication of Charles V.

That taciturn, ferocious, and gluttonous prince, who was devoured by insatiable self-esteem and fearful bigotry, revealed his unhealthy origin by flagrant signs. His face, by its constant pallor, gave him the appearance of a spectre. While young he had a serious illness; at a later period his frequent headaches compelled him to wear his hair very short; gout, in his old age, frequently mounted to his head and threatened him with a sudden death; he evidently had in his brain a principle of morbid irritation. Long prior to his abdication, he remained for whole days plunged in gloomy thought, not uttering a word, and bursting suddenly into tears without explaining the reason. Just as his mother ever carried about with her the corpse of Philip the Fair, Charles V., the nomadic emperor, who resided nine times in Germany, visited Spain seven times, Italy six times, England twice, and the Low Countries ten times, who had set foot four times on the soil of France, and twice seen Africa, was constantly accompanied on his travels by his coffin. One day he proposed to his wife, Isabella, that they should retire into religious houses, and he himself did so, as is well known, after seventeen years of widowhood, and had the fantastic idea of celebrating his own funeral. A catafalque was erected in the church of the Hieronymites, against

which his wooden house rested. His courtiers and servants proceeded to the church in procession, holding black tapers, and he followed them, wrapped in his winding-sheet. He was extended on the bier, and the service for the dead was commenced. "Charles joined in the prayers recited for the salvation of his soul," so Strada tells us, "and mingled his tears with those shed by the followers, just as if a real funeral were being celebrated." The burlesque solemnity lasted the whole day, and the attendants ended by throwing, according to the usual custom, holy water on the coffin. Charles V. then emerged from it, and went to sit in the garden of his hermitage in the sinking beams of the sun. As he had taken cold during the burlesque, he soon felt very chilled and was carried to bed. The fanatic emperor never left it again: he died twenty-two days after, enjoining his son, by a codicil to his will, to exterminate all the heretics.

I ask, in conscience, whether such follies as these are a proof of a thoroughly healthy brain? Can we not recognise here, at the first glance, the wanderings of Joan the Mad? Michelet, who has discussed this question of hereditary madness in the emperor, adds to the action of race the disastrous influence which the prince's governor, M. de Chièvres, exercised over him during his youth. Charles V., his pupil, was *wisely* educated by him in one act of madness after the other. The visions of universal monarchy, strange and romantic for a Duke of Burgundy, seemed much less so for a man in whom fortune united Spain, the Low Countries, and the Austrian states. The dream of Pyrrhus and Picrocholos was no longer a

dream: it was more than half realised by this caprice of fate. Alas! influences of the same nature were destined to obscure and lead astray the intentions of nearly all his descendants. The Habsburgs of Austria and Spain were fashioned and set in movement like automata by the most skilful and pernicious mechanician. What was this poor M. de Chièvres, in comparison with the Inquisition and the Jesuits?

Thus the mournful symptoms we have described were aggravated in Philip II. Can we believe that his savage piety, his thirst for blood, his gloomy libertinism, and implacable pride, were free from mental alienation? His death between the walls of a cell, before a picture of Hell painted by Jerome Bosch, and his dying agony tortured by hideous hallucinations, form a drama such as Dante could scarce have invented. Nearly all his successors, nearly all the heirs of his uncle Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., and Emperor of Germany, revealed by some signs the secret infirmity of the family.

In Rudolph II. it was displayed in all its nudity. Business inspired him with the profoundest disgust, and he never interfered in it save through jealousy, and to complicate matters when he saw them in the hands of a skilful secretary of state. Curiosities, alchemy, astrology, and white magic, usually occupied all his time. Invisible and inaccessible in the Hradschin Palace, he managed his household affairs so badly that at times there was no money to buy provisions. But this prince never neglected his lions, his leopards, and his eagles: he tamed them with exemplary patience, and taught them to follow him through all the apartments of the palace. Every variety

of pretended sorcerers lived there pell-mell with the emperor: he imagined he could create men by means of the alembic, resuscitate mummies, predict the future, see objects a hundred leagues away in a mirror, make gold, and command the elements. His favourites alone approached him for months together, so that the empire did not know were he dead or alive. After passing several hours motionless and silent, he would rise sometimes and break up furniture, statues, clocks, pictures, and precious vases. The death of an old lion, and of two eagles, which he daily fed with his own hands, broke his heart: he was inconsolable at their loss, and soon uttered his last sigh.

Even before his death, the sanguinary hypochondria of Philip II. reappeared in the Archduke Ferdinand II., who would one day ascend the imperial throne. In spite of the edicts of toleration, he adhered to his design of crushing the Reformation, and set to work unscrupulously and pitilessly. We have shown to our readers this sepulchral face, this hang-dog devotee, who might justly be called the greatest murderer in history. He it was who exterminated two-thirds of the Germanic population, and by the excess of oppression, want, and famine, brought back his subjects to cannibalism, and reduced them to eat human flesh. Guards had to be stationed round the cemeteries at night to prevent the dead bodies being exhumed. His atrocious madness continued to rage in his two heirs, Ferdinand III. and Leopold. Hoffman did not invent more fantastic characters, or Tacitus describe reigns more hideous than theirs.

In Charles VI., some rays of light shone through the

clouds that usually enveloped the minds of this family, although the expulsion of thirty thousand Protestants recals the gloomy fanaticism of the Habsburgs. Maria Theresa, though more intelligent than her predecessors, betrayed by manifest signs the leanings of her race. She carried bigotry to the furthest limits of exaggeration, and at times treated her subjects with implacable ferocity. Bohemia, which during the Austrian war of succession had displayed slight zeal towards the dynasty of its oppressors, was chastised for this in a barbarous fashion. In spite of the amnesty promised and stipulated by the French General Chevert, the whole country was abandoned to the fury of the imperial soldiery, like a city taken by assault. A multitude of individuals belonging to the higher clergy, the old and new nobility, even women of high rank, perished beneath the axe and by torture. In the midst of the eighteenth century, the punishments of the middle ages were renewed. The whip, the bastinado, hard labour, and perpetual imprisonment, were the mildest punishments pronounced against persons guilty only of indifference towards the Habsburgs, for no act of rebellion was imputed to them. Twenty-one suspected persons were condemned without hearing witnesses, and secretly decapitated. Whole families disappeared in dungeons and were never heard of again: thus the ancient race of the Counts of Wrtby was exterminated. During Maria Theresa's stay at Prague, where she went to put on the crown of Bohemia, one day, as she left the castle, a priest had the courage to present to her more than fifty children, and women *enceintes*, who trembled for their fathers and husbands, imprisoned by the

Aulic commission. These unhappy beings threw themselves at the feet of the empress, and with tears and sobs, invoking the name of the Lord, the pity natural to women, and the clemency prescribed by the Gospel, implored the pardon of the captives. All those who witnessed the scene wept, save the daughter of Charles VI., who rejected their prayers, and continued on her way.

The mixture of French and Austrian blood, by the marriage of Maria Theresa with Francis of Lorraine, produced two noble characters, two emperors who honoured the throne—Joseph II. and Leopold II. But the prince consort possessed a weak and timid character, a voluptuous and indolent nature; hence the gloomy genius of the Habsburgs was not crushed or subdued by the genius of France, so slothfully represented. It slowly undermined the constitution of the new family, and suddenly, in the son of Leopold, in that Francis I. who reigned forty-three years and sustained a colossal war against Napoleon, the sinister spirit of Philip II. reappeared without any alteration and in all its ghastly nudity. It also animates, counsels, and directs the new emperor, Francis Joseph, and the commencement of this prince's reign strengthened in him the evil influences of his race.

What a sad novitiate for a young man and for an absolute sovereign were the campaigns of Italy and Hungary in 1848 and 1849! What models, what teachers, what companions in arms were the Radetzkys and Haynaus! His mind was formed in the midst of blood, carnage, military executions; and the victories of the Russians over his own subjects strengthened his throne. Such a sight

and such lessons could inspire him with neither clemency, love of justice, nor devotion for his people, and they were far from conjuring the fatal influences that ferment in his veins.

Instead of being attenuated or combated in time by an antidote, they have unfortunately been fortified by untoward circumstances. After his return from Lombardy, while the court was resident at Olmütz, it was hoped for a moment that he would abandon the old traditions of his family. He had already repudiated the Spanish etiquette, and several times taken the unheard-of liberty of smoking a cigar in the imperial salon, which scandalised many patrician noses, for never had an archduke been before emancipated to such an extent. But ceremonials soon returned into favour, bringing in their train the gloomy humours, Titanic self-love and harshness of the Habsburgs. The young monarch was seen following processions, taper in hand, and, in 1855, he put on the hair-cloth of the Concordat. The shadows of Charles the Rash, Joan the Mad, Charles V., Ferdinand II., and Leopold I., now form his sinister cortége, driving him from the good, and impelling him to bad.

In studying the policy and actions of the Austrian government, and seeking to divine its prospects, we must not reason in an absolute manner or after ordinary probabilities. The partial or complete madness of nearly all the Habsburgs is an evidence, an element which must be taken into calculation, and the evil genius of that house may always counsel rash enterprises, which will upset the calculations of the cleverest men. Though it oppresses the earth with its massive and ponderous base, its capricious

summit is lost in the clouds, where it seeks the tempest and braves the lightning. Twenty times already it has all but perished by the tempests it has provoked, and a strange piece of good fortune, which Louis XIV. called a miracle, saved it repeatedly, and even within our knowledge in 1849. It reckons on the perpetuity of this marvellous fortune, and learns less than other royal families from misfortune. It is like those men who believe they possess an infallible talisman, and the gravest obstacles, therefore, do not cause it to abandon its projects.

The insensate self-esteem of the Habsburgs has a great share in that unbounded hate they feel for all principles dear to nations. They believe themselves God's true representatives on earth, but they make little distinction between themselves and their Master, and would feel a pang at confessing themselves inferior to Him, for the line of demarcation that separates them seems to them nearly imperceptible. Each sovereign this family produces considers himself in his heart of hearts a fourth person of Deity. What idea, then, can he form of nations? Must he not regard them like humble flocks, vile hordes, too happy in obeying the chief that governs them and honours them with his commands? Every attempt, therefore, every wish of disobedience, becomes not only a crime of high treason but a real act of sacrilege, and no punishment can be too cruel for the impious. Hence the fearful repressions that have stained the soil of Austria with blood. Men, that inferior race, are only grains of dust in the presence of the House of Habsburg, and it

sacrifices them and disperses them to the winds when its projects demand it, or they dare to rise in opposition.

This pride, this hatred of liberty of conscience and political freedom, have necessarily strengthened the old animosity of the Habsburgs against France. The Emperor Maximilian I., being at Mechlin with Lucas Cranach, wished to have a portrait painted of his grandson, Charles V., then eight years of age, but the young prince could not be induced to sit quietly. His preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, then hit on the idea of hanging up before him a coat of mail and a portrait of the King of France. Immediately the boy remained quiet, with his eyes fixed on the hereditary enemy of his house and the brilliant panoply: his aversion produced more effect than any prayers or commands. This same heir of the House of Austria was not fifteen years of age when told that his betrothed, the Princess Claude, was going to marry the Count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. "You think, perhaps, that annoys me?" she said. "On the contrary, I am delighted with it. As no tie any longer attaches me to France, I shall be enabled to combat her openly according to the desire of my heart." From that period the hostilities between the two races was only momentarily suspended during the ministry of Kaunitz. Before his death, in 1792, they began again. Austria concluded an offensive alliance with Prussia, which led to the invasion of the Champenois. The rest is well known, and it may be believed without difficulty that the wars of the Empire left profound resentment in the heart of the Habsburgs.

But the general tendencies of the French mind carried the hatred of Austria to the highest pitch: she regards France as the great crater of revolutions, whence they pour in burning streams over the whole of Europe. The absolute liberty of thought introduced into France by the eighteenth century, the democratic theories produced since 1789, and the universal propaganda of French literature, have persuaded the cabinet of Vienna that the repose of Europe and the salvation of monarchies demanded the humiliation or annihilation of France. There is no compromise possible between the unlimited pretensions of the Habsburgs and popular right; no argument is possible between a court excited by the most furious hatred of the new doctrines and the nation that represents those doctrines. During his residence in London, in 1848, Prince Metternich openly said that no end would be seen to the European troubles if a second coalition were not formed against France, and unless she were put down definitively or her territory lopped. The astute diplomatist afterwards returned to Vienna, where, in spite of his eighty-eight years, he exercised considerable influence up to the day of his death. It is natural that he would not speak in favour of France; for his overthrow and his flight, occasioned by the French revolution of 1848, could not have inspired him with any sympathy for that country.

The House of Austria, that great enemy of the human race, as Joseph de Maistre calls it, goes far beyond the Czar in the theory and practice of oppression. Tyranny is with them a mania. The imperial family of Russia bears no hatred to progress and civilisation; Peter the

Great, Catherine II., and the present ruler, have displayed very contrary feelings. Whenever a brutal despotism reigns on the banks of the Neva, it is rather the affair of personal complexion than the result of a permanent and invariable political system. On the banks of the Danube, it has for a long time been reduced to a doctrine, and forms an immutable tradition.

Men may change, but the maxims, tendencies, and means of execution never vary. Only once during an interval of twelve years, under Joseph II. and Leopold II., did French ideas modify the movement of the government. But with what enthusiasm, fury, and perfidious rancour did obscurantism and tyranny again instal themselves in the imperial palace! Chancellor Thugut, Kaunitz's successor, found the German language too poor to express all his hatred of the French and the apostles of liberal maxims. Whoever dared at Vienna to speak about concluding a peace with France, led the existence of a criminal. On the 13th of April, 1798, this ferocious diplomatist tried to have the French envoy, Bernadotte, assassinated by a mob, and in the following year he organised the massacre of the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.

Whenever the imperial family of Austria manifests any interest or pity for nations, any respect for the labours of the intellect, or any sympathy for the progress of civilisation, it has undergone some dreadful crisis. But it soon returns to its natural condition, its Olympian self-esteem, its egotism, its hardness of heart, and its historic traditions ever thrust back into its hands the stick, the cord, and the axe.

Austrian policy, constituted by Ferdinand II. at the beginning of the seventeenth century, has maintained the same character from the day it saw light. It is contemporaneous with that great Catholic reaction of which Wallenstein was the chief instrument. Born in the bosom of fanaticism, it possesses all its immoderate violence, obstinacy, and haughty and inflexible barbarity. Do not ask it for indulgences or concessions, for it necessarily invokes the authority of God, and makes Him its guarantee and accomplice. Sanctifying its projects, errors, and crimes, it listens neither to complaints, observations, nor prayers; it tramples nations under foot, overthrows obstacles, and, with a smile on its lips, wades through blood with the assured calmness of virtue.

What renders it most fatal is its blind and deaf obstinacy. History has no lessons for Austria; her systematic mind disdains facts as well as feelings, and she works out evil with the regularity of a machine. Bonaparte, who had occasion to study that country, thus described it in a celebrated conference, when, during June, 1813, he addressed these remarkable words to the Prince of Metternich at Dresden:

"I might perhaps have confidence in the personal attachment of my father-in-law, but the policy of his cabinet makes me experience at this moment a harsh trial. This policy never varies. Treaties and marriages may retard its course, but they do not change its direction. At no period will Austria renounce that which she is forced to abandon. When she is down, she seeks a refuge in peace; but to her it is only an armistice, and at the

moment she signs she is meditating a new war. Examine her conduct during the last twenty years. After fighting furiously against us in six campaigns, she only accepted the suspension of hostilities at Leoben in 1797, because she could not close the road to Vienna against us. The following year, when she knew me in Egypt with my army, she immediately reassumed the offensive, and only signed the peace of Lunéville in 1801, to keep away from her capital the victors of Hohenlinden. In 1805, she believed she could surprise us in the midst of our preparations against England; but this time she really lost Vienna, and underwent the unexampled catastrophes of Ulm and Austerlitz. She must submit, once more, but scarce three years had elapsed ere she had forgotten these rude lessons. In 1809, seeing us occupied at the other extremity of Spain, she attacked us with greater confidence than before; and the capture of Vienna and the defeat of Wagram alone caused her to conclude peace. Now she imagines that the chances will be more favourable to her, and you see how she immediately acts against us. By opening to our allies the Bohemian passes, she permits them to turn the position of the French troops and to cut off their retreat.

"In a word, Austria can forget nothing. She will remain our enemy, not only so long as she has losses to repair, but also so long as our power threatens her with new humiliations. Her jealous instinct stifles all interests and affections, and it annuls all my efforts."

The negotiator listened without uttering a word to this historical exposé, and his silence confirmed its cor-

rectness. Far from denying the obstinacy of Austria, he seemed to regard it as a title of glory. Napoleon expressed himself thus in 1813, and 1815 corroborated his arguments by a new fact. Austria dreamed of his overthrow, and managed to hold out a snare to him in which he was caught. Not only did causes of personal and political enmity inspire Austria with the desire of overthrowing his throne, but the pride of the Habsburgs was unwilling to admit a son of the Revolution into the family of European kings. They regard the nephew with an equally haughty eye. The people adopts talent and success enthusiastically and heartily, and shows the same devotion for the man of yesterday as for those born from a long line of ancestors. Royal and aristocratic families, on the contrary, wrap themselves up in inflexible disdain; they even have the word "parvenu" on their lips, and close up their ranks when any one attempts to join them who has not a satisfactory genealogy, or does not possess a power consecrated by several ages of tenure. Vain would be the hope to bind them, for their arrogant self-esteem admits of no compromise.

* * * * * *

Sooner or later France must make an end of Austria. The measure is, besides, full to the brim: all Europe, the whole civilised world, ought to pronounce the overthrow of the Habsburgs. This family must disappear from the face of the earth, or at any rate from power, for never has a criminal race committed such wrongs on humanity, abused so cowardly and pitilessly a fortuitous advantage—that of birth—invented more falsehoods, humiliated and

martyrised a greater number of men, caused more tears to be shed, provoked more curses, or wantonly caused more bloodshed.*

* The conclusive works of MM. Charles de la Varenne, Anatole de la Forge, Henri Martin, and Ulloa, on Austrian tyranny beyond the Alps, support mine in proving that I am guilty of no exaggeration in speaking thus.

THE END.

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